Dartmoor: A Landscape Study

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Declaration

“I confirm that all the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.”

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Focus and aims

At the heart of Devon in the southwest of England lies Dartmoor, a large expanse of high moorland and rocky tors. Anyone who has visited Dartmoor or seen photographs and read about it will have their own personal images and feelings for the place, which will be as varied as the landscape.

Over recent years landscape approaches have adopted strategies to understand how people experience and perceive the landscape that surrounds them (Ingold 2000, Thomas 1999, Tilley 1994). Phenomenology attempts to reveal the world as it actually is experienced by the subject as opposed to how we might theoretically assume it to be (Tilley 2004a). Writers such as Casey (1996, 2000, 2001, 2008), himself influenced by Merleau-Ponty, consider the body as vital and fundamental in perceiving, understanding and familiarising oneself with the landscape. Issues of memory, place, attachment and cosmology are nested within the landscape and remains of human activity, both past and present. Anthropology has demonstrated how peoples' understanding and perception of the landscape structures moral codes and practice (Basso 1996) and kinship affiliation and re-negotiation (Gow 1996).

Therefore, the focus of this study is to understand how peoples' experiences in the Bronze Age and in the present were/are structured by the landscape characteristics (topography, geology) of Dartmoor. Applying a 'contextual' approach to the past and present peoples' involvements with the landscape, it is hoped that a better understanding of how their embodied experiences were structured by their involvement with the Dartmoor landscape. There are three aspects to the study. One focuses on the Bronze Age remains of two specific areas in Southern Dartmoor to approach the question of prehistoric engagements. Secondly, using structured and unstructured interviews the aim is to understand how Dartmoor as a whole continues to structure peoples' experiences and how they become embodied. The third aspect considers how the Moor is 'imaged' and the contrasting views between different groups. The aim is to demonstrate how peoples' perception of Dartmoor's landscape are formed and continued to be structured by its particular characteristics expressed through literature and issues of conservation.

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Map 3. Middle Plym Valley study area. Black box shows the area to be studied (Ordnance Survey Explorer OL28 © Crown copyright 2010).

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Dartmoor: A Landscape Study

Introduction

The title and focus for this study is broad and aims to investigate phenomenology and embodiment via a consideration of the Bronze Age monuments of two specific areas on southern Dartmoor and contemporary relations with Dartmoor through a study of how people in the present come to engage with Dartmoor both physically and through representations. Essentially the focus is on how the Bronze Age cultural landscapes and contemporary cultural landscapes are able to be linked and studied via a common experiential exploration of the impact of Dartmoor's physical make-up non those who inhabit and dwell within it. What are the modes of habitation/inhabitation and how people become familiar with Dartmoor, how 'place' becomes inhabited and affected via the body and movement.

Reasons for choosing Dartmoor as the study area have been influenced by academic, personal and practical reasons, for example Dartmoor offers an extensive number of Bronze Age sites and monuments and has had little modern encroachment. Over the last ten to fifteen years there has been an increased focus on the role of place and embodiment in the study of both past and present landscapes. Added to this are strong personal feelings towards Dartmoor that have influenced the decision to choose it as a study area. Dartmoor not only provides the opportunity to study past -prehistoric- engagements with the landscape, but continues to have resonance for many people today. It is this factor that is the prime objective for the study. Archaeological studies of the landscape tend to focus to on a particular period and how politically, economically and socially that landscape was constructed. This study aims to address the diachronic aspects of the landscape and how it is just as important in informing and conceptualising peoples' feelings and experiences within a contemporary world as it was in the Bronze Age.

Therefore, the multi-faceted nature of this study aims to provide an insight into both past and contemporary relations with the landscape of Dartmoor or 'The Moor' as it is locally referred to. The first part of the study, focusing on the prehistoric remains and natural features, aims to demonstrate a close relation between the two, how the natural features of the landscape acted upon 'humans' as much as 'humans' acted upon the landscape. The application of an 'holistic' approach will hopefully demonstrate how

anthropogenic features interacted with the landscape and also how the different constituent parts/elements of the landscape may have been central in forming peoples' experience. Essentially it is concerned with how 'Place' is constructed by the landscape and the structural features within it.

The second and third parts of the study are aimed at illustrating contemporary feelings, experiences, attachment and essentially bodily engagements to Dartmoor. Through both structured and unstructured interviews the second part aims to how walking in the modern contemporary world is a central theme in how people embody experiences, memories and construct a social framework in the which the Moor is a vital mode of habitation in which a contemporary 'mindscape'; one of familiarity and sociality is created and sustained through the walking body. This not only provides people with a locale in which they 'grow in to', but is also fundamental in how people dwell and 'get on' within their day to day 'lifescapes'. The aim is to gain an insight into their views of Dartmoor's past and its contemporary landscape and how it is structured and embodied.

The aim of the third part demonstrates how visual and literal representations continue to structure and sustain peoples' feelings towards Dartmoor and senses of habitation and inhabitation, or familiarity and 'at ease'. Much of the literature focuses on how it is necessary to put the walking body into the Dartmoor landscape before one can truly say they have become familiar with the Moor. The use of Dartmoor for the backdrop of the 2012 film Warhorse and the introduction by the Dartmoor National Park Authority (DNPA) of a specifically tailored walk that takes in the areas used specifically in the film are a very good expression of how particular representations of landscapes and walking are a process of placing the body into and inhabiting, in this example, then landscape of Dartmoor.

Although the second and third parts of the study form separate strands of enquiry there are close similarities and overlap between the two which will be demonstrated by the use of data from the interviews undertaken. Where some archaeological studies only focus on one specific period and the landscape is considered within that context, this seems to compound the 'unique' or 'special' role that landscape, for example, held for prehistoric people. They seem to continue the division of 'humans' and 'nature' so often written about in western society. It is important, as well as interesting to understand the way the world is being produced and was produced. Contemporary 'feelings' and experience of a landscape, its 'Placeness' (in archaeology) are often overlooked and it

this point that the study hopes to demonstrate, as well as the role of the body and landscape in creating human experience and consciousness in the past and present.

Between the three strands of enquiry the link that binds them together is a focus on the body and more specifically a body that is walking. By applying a phenomenological approach, the aim is to highlight how aspects of embodiment and inhabitation are experienced through the body walking in the landscape. It is through walking I suggest that both people in the Bronze Age, in the present and through literary representations that specifically focus on the body located in the landscape acquire knowledge and make 'place'. It is through the feet and legs that we are continually in contact with our 'surroundings'. It is through walking that both Bronze Age communities and contemporary communities involved with Dartmoor have in common and I aim to demonstrate how Dartmoor as an entity –both its physicality and 'being'- and walking it are part of a universally embodied engagement that initiates responses from the senses that triggers multiple experiences, memories and creates meaningful places that become layered physically by tangible features such as monuments or by the intangible, such as stories and memories.

Throughout each strand of enquiry, walking and vision from the predominant focus of the study. This is not to say that other senses are ignored, simply that the locations in which the Bronze Age remains are located were more suited to a visual focus, similarly vision and perceptual experience were the predominant responses from those interviewed. However, where it was possible there is a focus on the synaesthetic consideration of all the senses involved in perceptual experience. As Skeates (2010: 22) notes, that to identify and study a sensory approach which places a hierarchy between them is an analytical construct especially as the world around us is multi-sensorially experienced. Indeed, it is hoped that although the study has a strong focus on the visual, the overall aim is to demonstrate how two different time situated studies of a specific landscape can be studied with a focus on the body and synaesthesia. The growing literature on sensual cultural studies across anthropology, archaeology and material cultural studies, to name just three disciplines, have demonstrated the multi sensory qualities of artefacts, and of the technologies of communication that extend the reach of our bodies (Skeates 2010: 3, see also Boivin 2004, Classen 1993, Goldhahn 2002, Ouzman 2001, Rainbird 2002, Howes 2005).

A Potted Outline of Dartmoor

Located in the centre of Devon, southwest England, Dartmoor covers and area of 954sq km (368sq miles) and is the largest area of open country in the south of England (see figure 0.1). The majority of the land is over 492ft (150m) above sea level, with the highest point being High Wilhays at 2039ft (621m). Dartmoor is primarily formed of granite, and where erosion of the covering soils has taken place the Moor is characterised by one of its most distinctive features; tors, in which there are over 160 (see figure 0.2). Dominated by southwesterly winds making for a cool and wet climate, along with poor soils the majority, 47% of the landscape is moorland and used for rough grazing with 37% used as farmland where areas have been enclosed and improved to allow for better grazing. The remaining land is used for forestry/woodland, reservoirs, common land and the military. Dartmoor has a significant number of archaeological remains with 17 500 entries in the Historic Environment Record and 1200 scheduled monuments and 2500 listed buildings. As a landscape, Dartmoor offers the most prolific pre-modern database of sites and monuments from the Bronze Age and is testimony to the area being an important and central locale during this period compared to its marginal and peripheral contemporary appearance. However, it this marginal locality, lack of modern encroachment and little change in its physical appearance, for example vegetation cover, that has been a considerable influence in deciding to focus on the Moor and a consideration of vision to monument location

Figure 0.1. Location map of Dartmoor and other National Parks (www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk 23/02/2012).

Figure 0.2. A distinctive feature of the Dartmoor landscape (by author).

Chapter Structures

Hopefully the potted outline of Dartmoor and the introduction to the thesis has warmed up the muscles -eye and finger- and equipped the stationary reading walker with a taster for what lies ahead. Before pushing on at a pace with a steep ascent into the body of the study, there is a brief outline of each chapter to enable the reader to fully equip themselves -with tea and biscuits- for the journey ahead.

The structure of the thesis is divided into five parts with chapters 1-3 forming the part I, part II is formed by chapter 4, part III has chapter 5, part IV has chapter 6 and finally bringing up the rear is part V and the conclusion, where aching eye and finger muscles, not to forget the brain, can relax. Parts II-IV from the methodological approach and have been divided into methodology part 1 to 3 respectively. The overall aim of the three strands of enquiry and the rationale behind the methodology employed is that Dartmoor enables both Bronze Age and contemporary cultural landscapes to be linked and studied via a common experiential exploration of Dartmoor's physical make-up

Part I

Chapter 1: General Discussion of Theory and Method. The chapter provides an outline of the theoretical and methodological approach and the specific aims and objectives of the study. By outlining the theoretical stance, a phenomenological one, it

is aimed to highlight the importance of a synaesthetic body as the centre to perception and embodiment and that a growing body of literature supports the basic point that identities of persons are significantly related to the topographies and geologies of the landscape (Tilley 2009: 33-34). The second part of the chapter outlines the methodology used for each aspect of the study and how through an investigation and consideration of the contemporary world and the past it is possible to study via the body and particularly walking the universality of embodiment.

Chapter 2 Dartmoor: A Synthesis of its Landscape Character, and chapter 3 Dartmoor's Archaeology: Past work. Both outline how Dartmoor has evolved physically and as an area of study. Chapter 2 provides the reader with an outline of the geological and ecological changes that have occurred and formed Dartmoor. The hope is to provide an understanding for the deep time processes that have affected Dartmoor physically and also continue to have an affect on peoples' experiential involvement with Dartmoor. Chapter 3 focuses on past archaeological studies on the Moor's Bronze Age to demonstrate an historical depth in which the Bronze Age remains have been studied. It also outlines the types of monuments that form the data and focus for the study.

Part II

Chapter 4: Archaeological Methodology, Fieldwork Analysis and Interpretation. The focus of this chapter is to provide an outline of the survey approach employed in the study, results of the fieldwork carried out and their analysis/interpretation for each of the study areas: The Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley, The Middle Plym Valley. The aim of this is to demonstrate how the same type of monument was used in different ways in each area, and in turn was possibly influenced by the wider landscape. Also, the aim is to demonstrate similarities in how certain aspects of the material world were used in the monuments' construction and location across both areas. There is a detailed topographical description of both areas including the types of monuments and settlements in each study area, and an interpretation of the archaeology.

In the analysis of the archaeological features, I employ Ingold's (2000, 2007) notion of 'wayfaring' as a mode of inhabitation. Wayfaring, is a mode of movement 'along' paths of travel and one in which the individual or wayfarer is continually on the move. Travelling is not just an activity of moving from one place to another, but is a way of 'being', as the wayfarer proceeds there is a constant active engagement with the world around them. The rows, cairns, enclosures and hut circles are part of an ongoing process

of movement over the landscape, where life is lived and are the physical and permanent expression of past activities and memories in a fixed and specific locale. Although they are different types of monuments (rows, cairns, settlements), together they work to create and sustain knowledge which is formed as inhabitants move over and along the monuments and landscape.

Part III

Chapter 5: Perspectives on Dartmoor: 'Affectual' Engagement: Body and Dartmoor. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate, using data from the unstructured interviews, how the body and movement, specifically walking in a number of cases, is central to how place-making, memories, experiences and perception become embodied by considering the issues of materiality and agency. The focus is one of bodily immersion within the world of Dartmoor, one where the sensuous body is key in how people become knowledgeable about the Moor from the 'inside'. That is, they are involved with the materiality of Dartmoor and grow with it in both the present, as mentioned becoming knowledgeable, and the past; memories of past engagements.

Part IV

Chapter 6: Representations of Dartmoor. This chapter and individual sections, will deal with ideas of identity and attempt to demonstrate how both identity and conservation are linked together in constructing and 'making' place on Dartmoor, and also how identity and how people who live and work on Dartmoor are deeply interwoven not just with the physical landscape but also with the role that animals and in particular 'indigenous' animals have in building and constructing peoples' sense of 'dwelling' on the Moor. In the first section, there is a description of how Dartmoor has been imaged/imagined through the textual analysis of how Dartmoor has been written about. Then, in the second section there will be a discussion that will examine how identity and experience on Dartmoor are constructed by the constituent elements of the 'lived-in' and 'worked-in' landscape. The hope is to demonstrate how Dartmoor is not only embodied through its geology and topography, but also through lived beings such as the animals.

Part V

Chapter 7: Journeys conclusion: Past and Contemporary Relations with the Landscape of Dartmoor. With the conclusion of the thesis the chapter provides a focus on the aims of the study and how phenomenology as a theoretical approach has been employed in a study of embodiment an inhabitation on Dartmoor and how two different time periods are able to be studied to uncover how the many features of Dartmoor's landscape created and sustains past and present bodily experiences.

Let the journey begin!

Part I: Introducing the Journey. Theory and Previous Work

Chapter 1

General Discussion of Theory and Method

This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological approach adopted by this thesis and provides the reader with an understanding of the specific aims and objectives of the study. Firstly there is a detailed outline of 'Place' and Phenomenology focusing on their influence within Landscape Archaeology as a sub discipline of archaeology and forming the primary methodological and theoretical stance of the study. The aim is to demonstrate how place and the use of a phenomenological perspective are central to understanding how the landscape is experienced. By applying the concept of place and phenomenology, with an increased consideration of the senses and using the material remains of the past, a fuller 'holistic' understanding of how the landscape creates and conceptualises experience may be better understood. The final part of the chapter provides an introduction to the methodology adopted throughout the study. The section is divided in two, one outlining the archaeological approach and how a consideration of natural features is an important aspect to understand how natural features evoke emotional responses and structures a persons perception, the other outlining how contemporary modes of inhabitation are embodied and sustained through peoples' experiences of Dartmoor.

1.1 Archaeologies of Landscape: Place and Landscape Experience

The 'archaeology of landscape' has had a long tradition of study from the works of General Pitt Rivers on Cranborne Chase through to Aston & Rowley's (1974) studies on post-Roman landscapes. Archaeologists have been able to identify phases of landscape development. Results tended to focus on the landscape as a backdrop against which archaeological remains were plotted, primarily considering the economic and political resources of refuge and risk, both that impel and impact on human actions and situations (Knapp & Ashmore 1999: 1). As Barrett (1999: 26) comments, the end results are overwhelmingly empiricist and more a "history of things that have been done to the land", very often quite removed from the past human lives that were lived and experienced in these places. The landscape is not simply the past in the present there to be studied and interpreted, it is at any given moment and place multi-vocal. People engage and re-engage, appropriate and contest it, use it to create and dispute a sense of identity- whether of self, group or nation (Bender 1992: 735). Landscape is not a

container for action, a passive backdrop for activity, but it is a medium for praxis (Cummings & Whittle 2004: 11). It is the medium through which social life is conducted and the context for social action (Cummings & Whittle 2004: 11). Although much of this section is concerned with an approach to the interpretation of archaeological landscapes, there is an underlying appreciation of the importance and application this has on understanding the contemporary issues of 'being-in-the-world'.

Within the last ten to fifteen years notions of landscape have considered its socio-symbolic dimensions, where landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced and contextualised by people (Knapp & Ashmore 1999: 1). For the social actors of the past, the landscape was not static or a canvas in which they moved, viewed and lived, but provided the possibility and necessity of action, and this action was constantly negotiated and re-negotiated (Gosden & Lock 1998). Within anthropology there has been a shift in the study of the spatial dimensions of culture. There has been an increased movement in foregrounding spatial dimensions of culture rather than treating them as background, therefore the notion that all behaviour is located in and constructed of space has taken on new meaning (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). This has had a knock on effect in the way that archaeology has considered and interpreted peoples' actions in the past and how the past is presented in the present. The study of landscape has benefited from such a shift in perspective, and the issues of 'Embodied Space' and 'Inscribed Space' (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003) have contributed greatly to a more holistic interpretation of the landscape.

Embodied space attempts to draw together the dualisms of the subjective and objective body, and distinctions between the material and representational aspects of body space (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 4). The main concern is with the body and embodiment. The body occupies space, and the perception and experience of that space contracts and expands in relationship to a person's predispositions (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 2). It is necessary to consider the body as lived (Casey 1996). Kant originally points to the body structure as a mode of emplacement, crucial to this is the interaction between body, place and motion (Casey 1996: 23). Merleau-Ponty (1962 from Smith 1999) further advanced the idea that the body and its movements are the source of orientation and perception of the world. Embodied space is being-in-the-world, the existential and Phenomenological reality of place: its smell, feel, colour and sensory dimensions (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 4). The body is where intention and performance are anchored in the world. Merleau-Ponty writes "when I put my hand

to my knee, I experience at every stage of the movement the fulfilment of an intention which is not directed at my knee as an idea or even as an object, but as a present and real part of my living body, that is, finally, as a stage in my perceptual movement towards a world" (Merlaeu-Ponty 1962 translated from Smith 1999: 144). Place arises as a felt phenomena through our bodies participation in it. Kant, writing in the Eighteenth Century proposes that the lived body is important as a mode of 'emplacement' via bodily structure. Grange (1989) follows this point by describing the posture of the body and comments on how the postural setting of place is one that sees the world as space upon which action is engraved. Casey (1996) also follows this line of enquiry in seeing the very dynamism and power of place as expressed by bodily motion.

The first bodily motion is 'staying in place'; the body is never totally stationary - unless rigor mortis has set in - but is constantly changing its position or the position of some parts of its body: moving its limbs, rotating the head. Gibson (1979) highlights the importance of the body as a perceptual system, one in constant motion by the virtue of the eyes, head and neck that are all able to move and so afford different modes of perception. The second is 'moving within a place'; in ceremonial action the body is moving in set ways within prescribed places. The third bodily motion is 'moving between places'. The body is no longer circumscribed by the restrictions of a single position or place, but now ranges among a number of places, paths, tracks and networks. Paths are specific places or locales moving people, experiences and ideas along a pre-ordained route, which is moving through a tactile world of impressions, signs, smells, sights and sensations. Paths become the analogical inscription of writing in the ground (Tilley 1994, Casey 1996).

Over recent years studies of the landscape have concentrated on paths, places and viewpoints (Tilley 1994, 2004a, 2004b, 2008b, 2010, Ingold 2000) and how the 'qualities' of the landscape create the significance for those who use them. Inscribed space is concerned with the relationship between humans and the environments they occupy, essentially we are dealing with the concept of 'dwelling'. Although it has several meanings at an etymological level, essentially we are looking at the relational context of the practical and emotional engagement with their/one's surroundings (Ingold 2000: 186). How do people form meaningful relationships with the locales they occupy? How do they attach meaning to space, and transform "space" to "place" (Low & Lawrence-Zúńiga 2003: 13). The perception of the landscape may be fundamentally affected by the situatedness of locales. Such locales have ontological significance for

those who use them because they are lived in and through (Tilley 1994). Whether locales are natural or humanly constructed they are mediated, worked on and altered, replete with cultural meaning and symbolism and not just looked at or thought about (Tilley 1994: 26). Locales are 'places' that in the words of Casey (1996) 'gather'. They not only gather things such as various animate and inanimate entities, but 'place' gathers experiences, histories, memories and even thoughts. When you go back to a place you know, you find it full of memories, expectations, old things and new things (Casey 1996: 24). Both Keith Basso's (1996) study among the Western Apache and Peter Gow's (1995) among the Piro of Western Amazonia demonstrate how the landscape intensively gathers experience. The natural landscape to the Western Apache is the arena where both 'wisdom' and 'social morals' are learnt through movement across and in the landscape. Particular narratives are attached to specific locales and it is these resources that create and teach people the knowledge and wisdom needed to live (Basso 1996). Gow's study of the Piro of the Bajo Urumbamba of Western Amazonia comments how the landscape is a constant source of storytelling and cultivation that links kinship and memory. One such act, that of clearing a plot of land from secondary forestation is not merely one of clearing to make it congenial and functionally viable, it is one that re-creates and intensifies memories of past projects clearing the same plot of land before, and combines those memories by re-negotiating kinship ties (Gow 1995). The studies demonstrate how landscape is implicated in two ways: as active place making and as a narrative of places (Gow 1995: 52). The qualities of or power of place or the spirit of place may be held to reside in a landscape. The embodiment of memory - its bodily efficacy- is not just to have a point of view, but a place in which we are situated (Casey 2000: 182). This places us -or the lived body- in a portion of space from out of which we undergo experiences and remember. So, to embody experience becomes place specific and is bound to that specific place (Casey 2000: 182). Casey has termed this 'place memory' (Casey 2000). Such a view of place memory is especially relevant to the intensively gathered landscapes of Aboriginal Australia, a landscape that holds ancestral memories of Dreaming. The Dreaming Tracks are fundamental in understanding the landscape of Aboriginal Australians. The Dreaming Tracks function on many levels, as the lived body is situated in a portion of space from out of which experience and memory are part of the process of embodiment. The Dreaming Tracks are where groups or individuals engage in ceremonies, make contact with the power of Ancestral Beings and the landscapes they created, as well as reaffirming relationships.

Stories associated with Dreaming Tracks are used to describe human origins, codes of conduct, the nature of the landscape in its present form and inspire works of art (Morphy 1995, Taçon 1999).

An important issue that the above ethnographic studies demonstrate is the concept of movement and its relation to time and memory. 'Implication' (Gow 1995), moving about the landscape, exploring it, attending to it, all are vital to gaining knowledge of the world (Ingold from Whittle 2003: 23). This movement is one of 'routine' that provides ontological security and ways that people make sense of things (Whittle 2003). Place provides a familiarity and rootedness for people to make sense of the world' or as Brück (1999) comments "to get on in the world". Within archaeology the role of place has frequently been overlooked, as the main focus was concerned with the nature of a 'site' and primary attention given to the time and temporal sequence of that place/site as a measurable, quantifiable metric space. The study of monuments has often seen them as separate from the landscape and has resulted in the monuments being viewed as separate entities divorced from the landscape around them. A useful way to bring the two together is by seeing place as containing a "certain influence" and "distinct potency", thus active. Monuments are the physical expression of "attuned space", or space that one feels sympathetic towards at some basic level (Casey 2000: 192). Monuments are never really static; they exist in an ever-changing world, one that naturally changes their form by weathering, or through social changes initiated by human agents. Monuments are therefore active in the "in-habitation" and "in-taking" of peoples' experiences (Casey 2000). In-habitation is the manner in which due to the lived body we find ourselves 'familiar' with particular places 'in' which we are located. Casey notes that 'familiar' and 'in' are characteristics of place in contrast to site (Casey 2000: 190). In-taking is the activity of feeling fully constrained or enveloped in place; it is that origin of intimacy and sensitivity of place (Casey 2000).

Attachment to place does not have to be physically inscribed or elaborated. Tuan (1977) mentions the importance of 'quiet attachments', those of smell, sound and touch that can evoke just as profoundly a sense of the past as those which are physically inscribed onto the world. Within western society the role of the body has essentially conceived of man outside of their surroundings. Therefore, this has provided a view of detachment and the impact of humans upon the landscape, not of the impact that landscape has on the senses. Husserl was interested in the senses that create experience; such experience was not simply an element of human consciousness but was the basis

for perception and knowledge (Gosden 1994: 103). In relation to the study of landscape, the visual has been the dominant sense used for interpretation, and the acquisition of knowledge and experience (Thomas 2001: 167). Little attention has been paid to the senses of touch, smell, and acoustics. Perhaps one reason for such an exclusion may be that it is hard to abstract and mediate impressions that are admitted to us through senses other that the eyes (Goldhahn 2002: 31). Contemporary western understandings of the world categorically separate culture from nature, mind from body. A hallmark of such thinking or perceiving has culminated in what Martin Heidegger referred to as the "age of the world picture", a time when the world becomes conceived and grasped as an image that can be scientifically reasoned and apprehended by humanity (Thomas 2001: 167). Therefore in such a light scientific discourse and everyday activities rely on the eyes for 'objective' observations. It is the visible that can be studied over and over again (Goldhahn 2002: 31). This disengagement from the world assumes a degree of superiority and controlling, the predominant visual nature of western perception has separated us from the 'living world', in a way it could be argued that we have lost our embeddedness in the land.

To interpret using the senses other than just the visual impact of the landscape forces the consideration of the other 'qualities' of the landscape that create significance for those who use them. Rivers, rocks, weather, season will be part and parcel of one's perceptual engagement and conceptualisation of place. How is place actually sensed? How does this feelingful sensuality participate in naturalising one's sense of place (Feld 1996: 91)? Such questions are very insightful in considering, from an archaeological point of view, how the senses underlie how places become constituted, and how individual elements articulate socially and historically specific group 'mindscapes'. Feld (1996) provides a good example of the acoustic properties – 'soundscape' – of the forest, and how this sensual wraparound of sound is fundamental for Kaluli experience via bodily sensation. With specific reference to water, one can link what Bergson calls the "reflecting" and "absorbing" powers of the body (Feld 1996: 134). Kaluli sing about waterways and sing with the water, also water's perceptual record of resounding images carries and lingers in embodied memory, changing at different times of the year. The river's music and other audio-visual phenomena not only bestow a 'sense' of room, they embody a humanistic experience of the landscape (Goldhahn 2002: 29). Water is always heard even when it cannot be seen, water has dramatic visual presence as well, a depth and dimensionality of presence as it travels through places, linking and demarcating

them (Feld 1996: 107). Within archaeology the acoustic properties of artificially constructed monuments has been studied (Devereux & Jahn 1996, Watson & Keating 1999), and the sensual as well as acoustic qualities of rock art sites have been studied as part of a prehistoric cosmological belief and 'mindscape' (Helskog 1999, Ouzman 1998, 2001, Goldhahn 2002, Rainbird 2001, 2002). All the bodily systems are working in tandem to make sense of the physical surroundings, the acoustics or noise -in the form of reverberations- penetrates the nervous system and are recognised or ordered as frightening or good, happy or sad, thus experience and memory are grounded in acoustic dimensions (Helskog 1999: 78).

1.2 Phenomenology and the Body

The above section on Place and landscape experience provided an outline of the way a more experiential study of landscapes and its constituent elements has become the focus for the study of landscape archaeology and a re-focusing on the importance of Place (see Casey 2008 for further discussion of Place over Space). The importance of the body was mentioned and it is in the following that I would like to concentrate more on the role of the body in embodiment and perception via a consideration of phenomenology. The aim is to highlight the key elements in a phenomenological perspective to landscape study and also provide an outline of the critiques and criticism of such an approach. It is not meant to be an outline of the philosophy of phenomenology first proposed by Franz Bentano as a 'descriptive psychology' that was to be differentiated from the neurological study of mental processes (Thomas 2006: 44) and carried forward by Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. For a detailed explanation and outline of Phenomenology; Gosden (1994), Thomas (1996, 2006) and Tilley (1994, 2004a, 2008a) provide its evolution and use in the study of landscapes and material culture.

Following Tilley (2008b, 2010) the aim of the phenomenologist is to describe experiences as fully as possible through a rich or "thick" description to enable others to comprehend landscapes in their many diverse and complex ways, and enter into these experiences though their metaphorical mediation (Tilley 2008b: 271). A central theme within the phenomenologits experience of landscape is 'embodiment' and one focused on and in the sensing and sensed body ('Carnal Body' after Tilley 2010). When investigating the landscape you are studying from 'inside' (Tilley 2008), the body becomes the primary tool in which you gather in knowledge and experiences and go out

to meet the world -the body is central, but not a frozen static one, and it is one on the move and active.

Casey (2001) provides some important concepts relating to the body and world. Through the lived body the place-world is encountered by "going out to meet it" (Casey 2001: 688), via a spatial framework. Casey terms this *'Outgoing'* (Casey 2001), neither body nor place is a wholly determinate entity, each continually evolves, precisely in relation to the other. The place-world is energized and transformed by the bodies that belong to it, while these bodies are in turn guided and influenced by this world's inherent structures. The body not only goes out to reach place, it also bears the traces it has known which are continually laid down in the body sedimenting themselves. Casey terms this *'Incoming'* (Casey 2001: 688), where the body becomes shaped by the places it has come to know and what have come to know it, or as Casey writes "they take up residence in it" (Casey 2001). Therefore, places are themselves altered by having our body or by our having been within them. Places become 'heavy' or 'thick' with memories and by being involved in the landscape associations and attachments grow. Through incoming the body becomes placialized and this 'coming in' of places into the body and becoming inscribed is via *'Tenacity'* and *'Subjection'* (Casey 2001). Via *tenacity* places come to us lastingly, once having been in a particular place for any length of time, or even briefly if the experience has been an intense one. It is the *presence* of the place and it is the powerful presence and "how it felt to be in this presence". There is an impression of place by which the presence of a place remains lodged in our body long after we have left it (Casey 2001: 688). This presence is lodged within the body in a virtual state, ready to be revived when the appropriate impression or sensation arises (Rawlin 1981 from Casey 2001: 688). Subjection follows that we are not masters of place but on the contrary we are prey to it, we are its subjects or "subject to Place" (Casey 2001). This subjection ranges from *docility* (creatures of a place, at its whim), *appreciation* (we enjoy being in place, savouring it), *change* (we change/alter ourselves -our very SELF- as a function of having been in a certain place) (Casey 2001). He continues that in every case we are still 'in the place to which we are subject because they are in us', the body is the primary vehicle of such expression. Because of the inscriptive and expressive nature of *tenacity* and *subjection*, respectively on and of our body, place comes to be embedded in and becomes part of our very self, our character, what we enact and carry out and forward (Casey 2001).

Place is given a lot of agency, and in particular a material agency and animism. It is through the sensual engagement of the body that such materiality and agency is perceived and produces or constructs self, there is not a dualistic divide between the two. The importance of the body is central to the inquiry of perception and materialism. Bergson's ([1896] 1991 from Tilley 2008a: 21) rejection of the dualistic approach of materialism, stressing the physical realities of things and the body being a thing too, and idealist approaches that stressed the mind and importantly that perception was a product of the mind which had no bodily basis, placed the body and a moving body as part of the way perception is formed. Both idealist and materialist views of perception saw it as a reflection of a cognitive act that either showed the way things really are in the world or produces a representation of them. This in turn produced the notion of an 'inert' and objective 'outside' world inhabited by the body and a living heterogeneous and subjective 'inside' world of the mind (Tilley 2008a: 21).

Bergson placed the body and one of a moving body in the inquiry of perception and one that not only provides perception but also recollections. Memories are both images that can be recalled in the mind (voluntary memories), or are part of an inscribed corporeality or habits that become accumulated by the movement of the body (involuntary of bodily memories) (Bergson 1991: 81 from Tilley 2008a: 22). The latter or bodily memories incorporate the whole sensory range and can be re-collected or re-engaged by the movements of the body and there is a tendency for the corporeal memory to take over in a familiar surrounding (Tilley 2008a: 22). With the body and at the centre of perception the action becomes bodily and pure perception is the recording of sensations brought about by objects that are external to the mind and the perceptive being -*'Self'*- is constructed and understood through the involvement in a world of things of reciprocal participation (Tilley 2008a).

Following Bergson, Merleau-Ponty continued the focus of bodily immersion and involvement in a subjective and acting world. Following Tilley (2008a) who provides a detailed explanation and theoretical outline of both Bergson and Merleau-Ponty (the latter with a focus in imagery) I would like to highlight from this work Merleau-Ponty's thesis of *Reversibility* and its role in landscape agency and phenomenology. As Tilley states (2008b, 2010) when studying the landscape you do not start off with a set of hypotheses, instead by becoming immersed in the landscape it impacts upon you with a dialogic relationship -continued dialogue- between person and landscape. The landscape is thus seen to have an agency, this in turn is part of the materiality of the landscape,

one that focuses and stresses the real and physical presence rather than the cognized and represented. Merleau-Ponty created a thoroughly materialist approach to perception by thinking through what painters actually do in their practice (Tilley 2008a: 23). His aim was to understand paintings/imagery via the relationship between painters and what was produced; what is the relationship between image and reality, that which is beyond and outside the picture itself. Focusing on the work of Cézanne in 'Cézanne Doubts' (Merleau-Ponty 1973), Merleau-Ponty comments how Cézanne attempted to paint what he actually saw rather than follow the traditional Renaissance rules of outline, composition and distribution of light. He wanted to capture 'nature' (Tilley 2008a: 23) Cézanne's wife described his manner of working "He would start by discovering the geological foundations of the landscape, convinced that these abstract relationships, expressed, however in terms of the visible world, should affect the act of painting" (Frodeman 2004: 211). The surface of an object is not simply a two dimensional flat plane, but rather a surface obscuring a hidden depth which reaches its expression at the surface. The landscape is directly affecting the way he approaches painting, the "flesh" of the world is acting back to the 'thinking eye' of the painter, they seeing and being seen (Tilley 2008a). This gives a privilege to vision, although in Merleau-Ponty's thesis the body intertwines vision and movement, so sight and touch become the same, and sight is touch (Tilley 2008a: 25), "My body simultaneously sees and is seen" (Merleau-Ponty 1973: 124 from Tilley 2008: 25). The world looks at the painter and the painter looks at the world, the relationship is reversible. This is further emphasised when Merleau-Ponty writes of a comment made by Paul Klee when he says "in a forest, I have felt many times over that it was not I who looked at the forest. Some days I felt the trees were looking at me" (Merleau-Ponty 1973: 129 from Tilley 2008a: 25). This is a simplified explanation of Perceptual interchange or Reversibility and does not cover the complexities of the thesis (for detail see Tilley 2008a: 23-28). However the reason for introducing and highlighting specifically 'reversibility' is how such a process has relevance when considering the study and interpretation of a landscape's topography, geology and specifically regarding this study, prehistoric monuments.

If we apply synaesthetic and kinaesthetic approaches to the study of landscapes (past and present) and with specific reference to this study, prehistoric monuments, then there becomes a multitude of 'scapes'; soundscapes, touchscapes, smellscapes and tastescapes (Rainbird 2008b, Tilley 1999, 2008a, 2010) all which affect on the body and the way that the body perceives. To consider the reversibility of person and world and the active

moving body as where perception is grounded, then a greater degree of agency in the form of an animistic understanding is given over to objects/things or material culture in general (Tilley 2008a: 30). To consider an agency of non-human objects we need to consider the time frames or biographies of them as subjects (not objects) and their social relations. Agency is culturally prescribed and the way a thing (non-human) gains a casual effect is by being interwoven within social relationships with humans that may not have a mind but have an influence on people (Knappett & Malafouris 2008, Tilley 2008a: 30). I will demonstrate the above concepts of reversibility, synaesthesia, kinaesthesia and the body by using a simple example concerning a prehistoric monument in one of the study areas.

Let us take a stone row, simply a line of stones extending a few hundred metres over the landscape. At first glance it seems a fairly inert monument. If we place the body in the landscape walking up to the stone row and then walking along its length then already the monument becomes active and affective, you are following it not the other way around! Then if its setting is considered, what is the significance of any topographical features within the landscape, are they open or hidden at any time along its course; as much as the body is looking out, they the features, are looking at you. The experience of movement along the row and coming to meet the row is one of the whole body, legs, arms, feet, head and also one of proprioception and the role of the nerves creating a 'thinking in the body rather than in the mind' and an "infra-language" -sweat, heart rate, aches/pains (Tilley 2008a: 40). Finally the stones in the row are leading the body, but they themselves have qualities and materialities of rough/smooth, shinny/dark, to touch them is to be touched (Tilley 2008b, 2010) and you are performing an act that others have done before. It is an engagement or re-engagement and the qualities of the stone will have culturally prescribed meaning. The natural shape or form of the stone will choreograph how the hand moves over its surface (of course it could be any other part of the body), this in turn highlights Frodeman's (2004: 211) observation that the surface of an object (subject) is not just two-dimensional, but obscures a hidden depth. The above example demonstrates how approaches applying ideas of reversibility, agency, synaesthetic and kinaesthetic bring alive the possibilities of physically engaging via the body with the monument and landscape or 'monuments in the landscape' (Rainbird 2008a).

In the previous pages I have focused on the body and its importance to perception, experience and embodiment within phenomenology. I will now turn to some of the

other key elements within a phenomenological landscape study. The aim is highlight the key issues within the phenomenological perspective/methodology. For a detailed explanation of the phenomenological perspective see Chris Tilley (2008a) *Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape Archaeology* in David & Thomas (2008) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* and also chapter 1 in *Interpreting Landscapes: Geologies, Topographies and Identities* (2010) also by Chris Tilley. Both texts form the basis for this section.

1.2.1 Elements for a Phenomenological Study

To carry out a phenomenological study takes time and the longer someone experiences the landscape, each nuance and detail, then the more immersed they become. Landscapes are always active and changing according with the time of day, change of light and the effects of temperature. The seasons will alter certain features and elements within both the landscape -its constituent elements- and the monuments. These changes alter the rhythm in which the landscape will be experienced and have profound affective changes on the body as well; hot, cold, wet, dry (Tilley 2008a, 2010). These features of *temporality* are at the centre of phenomenological studies and demonstrate the reflective nature in which we must learn to see and experience other subjects which are different to our everyday life. It takes time to tune into sensual engagements such as the differences in sound, touch or taste especially as the visual is the dominant sense in western thought. The time taken to learn your-self about the landscape will in turn help in learning about the experiences of others in this way (Ingold 2000 on Temporality of the Landscape, Thomas 1996, Tilley 2008a, 2010).

In Tilley (1994) he highlights the importance of life and lives lived along paths. As much as they are routes physically inscribed over the landscape and carry people, they also carry stories, memories and engagements (Tilley 1994). Therefore, human and humanised landscapes in their simplest abstract conceptualisations consist of two elements; 1) places and their properties, 2) paths or routes of movement between the places and their properties (Tilley 2010: 272). Context is vital for both landscapes and place and dependent on the scale of analysis, as Tilley (2010: 272) writes "there can be no non-contextual definition of either landscapes or place". The aim of the phenomenologist is to describe the experiences of the place, which may be a rock outcrop, river/steam, or bog. As well as describing place, the paths or routes of movement in which the place is reached are important for the experience. How does it

feel bodily to get to the place? The describing of place and paths highlights that experience is multiple and concerned with both stasis and movement (Tilley 2008a, 2010). How the encounter occurs is fundamental as well to the bodily experience. There will be both a physical and metaphysical 'point of view' in how we encounter places and paths (Tilley 2010). The way in which the body becomes involved and encounters specific places and the routes in which it takes to get to them; the posture of the body, directionality of movement and how this affects proprioception will structure the perceptual experience and influence how the encounter unfolds. Memory becomes fundamental to the nature of experience (Tilley 2008a) and following Bergson these Bodily memories will be remembered physically (see also Casey 2000 on Body Memory).

As highlighted in the section on Place and Landscape earlier in the chapter and also in the section on Embodiment, a sensory appreciation of the landscape is vital. Not only is this sensory experience via the body, but the mode in which it is engaged is from walking in and through the landscape. To acknowledge the multisensory qualities of human experiences is to consider the touchscapes, smellscapes, tastescapes, soundscapes and visionscapes that occur all at once and mingle together to provide a whole bodily synaesthetic experience (Goldhahn 2002, Helskog 1999, Ouzman 1999, 2001, Rainbird 2001, 2002, 2008b, Tilley 2008a, 2008b, 2010, Watson & Keating 1999). To further a sensory experience the equipment involved, primarily pen and notebook and a camera to demonstrate features, allows freedom for the body to fully move.

The size or scale of the study will be limited both geographically and by one's own body (Tilley 2008a, 2010). Phenomenological studies being specifically particularistic than generalising, will effect and influence the geographical scale and also how the body can walk that area. A certain landscape will be the focus as opposed to a geographic area; i.e. the southeast or southwest and even in the study of an area that may be seen as homogeneous such as Dartmoor, the focus will still be specific to a small area. The aim is to capture the poetics and politics of places and paths (Bender 1998, 2001, Edmonds 2002, 2004, 2006, Tilley 2004a, 2004b 2008a). Perception and experience of landscapes will be formed and structured by relational bodily dyads; front/back, up/down, near/far. The experiential qualities must therefore be described and discussed in these terms and from the body (Tilley 2004a, 2008b, 2010). Combined with an appreciation of the senses, to put one above the other in a hierarchical

distinction is an "unhelpful simplification" (Tilley 2008b: 273). These will be dependent on the context of the experience and the analysis must be aware of the variations and changes in the sensory experience and engagement.

Natural places are important in the influence of activity and movement of the body. Therefore, to assume that only humanly constructed places are important fails to recognize how landscapes affect engagement and influence perception. The most important question that is asked is; "why was the place chosen rather than another" (Tilley 2008b: 273). Certain features, even though perhaps not physically inscribed with a monument may have had equal if not more significance (Basso 1996, Bradley 2000), the 'natural and 'cultural' must both be studied and an holistic approach employed. Indeed in some cases the distinction may not be that helpful as such division is a Western tradition and what we say is Culture may not have been considered so in the activities of past people. For example, the location of settlements within rock/stone scatters may well be seen as a process of living in and growing with it and so a natural process of living with the landscape (Bender, Hamilton & Tilley 2007).

1.2.2 Criticisms of Phenomenology

The above has provided an outline of the key themes/elements in a phenomenological perspective of landscapes. The following highlights some of the criticisms that have been laid at the feet of phenomenological studies. There are still the "bones" of the landscape (Tilley 2008b: 274), the rocks, hills and rivers, which although they may have changed there is still a way the body can directly connect with the past. Of course, while the interpretation of what an experience meant, how it was read or understood is culturally prescribed, there are "Lateral Universals" (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 120 from Casey 2008: 45), place variables and experiential variables that span different cultures. If I touch or knock into a stone/boulder my body tells me it is hard, this is an anatomical and physiological given. It is hard to me in the present and would have been hard to a person in the past. A very simple example but it provides a demonstration of considering at a base level the tactile qualities of a shared experience. Indeed how that engagement is experienced "what you read into it" may be different, but by further considering the deeper qualities of the stone; colour, size, haptic qualities (rough/smooth), fissures or cracks on the stone you build up a greater understanding of the stones materiality and immersion of the body into the synaesthetic and kinaesthetic experience of that stone. To apply this to the wider landscape and its constituent

elements provides some enlightening ways of re-thinking and re-imaging both past and present experiences.

However, there are critics of such an approach and notably those by the critiques of Andrew Fleming (1999, 2005, 2006) who writes on four texts: Mark Edmonds *The Langdales* (2004), Chris Tilley's *The Materiality of Stone* (2004), *Stories from the Landscape* (2004) edited by Adrian Chadwick and Vicki Cummings and Alasdair Whittle's (2004) *Places of Special Virtue: Megaliths in the Neolithic of Wales*. He writes "New readers should be given a health warning; these texts variously include poetry, extended literary evocations of the remote past, uncaptioned photographs and drawings, photo collages, unsourced vox pops and personal musings and a good deal of rhetoric (Fleming 2006: 267-268).

In Fleming's (2006) paper critiquing *Post-Processualism in Landscape Archaeology* and his *Phenomenology and the Megaliths of Wales: A Dreaming Too Far* (1999) his primary problem with post-processualist or notably phenomenological interpretations is the questionable results that are produced. Of course this sounds obvious for often it will be the results of a study that will be questioned. However, it seems that his main problem is with the lack of objectivity and the non-scientific nature in which for example phenomenological studies are carried out. So, for example his criticism of the data sets used in Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) and regarding the megalithic monuments of southwest Wales is that the overall variability in their design suggests that the builders were more concerned with monumental design than landscape setting. He also questions the sampling strategy and comments that "megalithic sites will have survived best on land which is less valuable (Fleming 1999: 120). The question of sampling is a problem faced in archaeology in general and those areas seen as economically marginal are going to have more archaeological remains and so a bias will exist within the strategy. This surely does not invalidate the relationship of monuments and landscape features in upland (marginal) settings. The same is true for Dartmoor, with a wealth of Bronze Age remains, especially field systems, these have survived due to its 'marginality', but this does not mean that the lowland areas of the South Hams where relatively little has been discovered (in relation to Dartmoor, and this is changing, see Griffith 1994, 2004), were not themselves criss-crossed by field systems or had cairns located in the landscape.

Concerning the question of variability and heterogeneity of the megaliths of south-west Wales and the Black Mountains, this is again a strange point, and one highlighted

by Tilley (2010), for European prehistoric monuments throughout later prehistory carrying huge amounts of variability. These changes came about within the specific chronological period, but also by future prehistoric peoples referencing and changing past monuments (Bradley 2002). To use Dartmoor as an example, the intricate internal form of many of the large summit cairns has long been recognised, but recent survey work by the Cairn Restoration Group has found a number having kerb stones, ring banks and satellite cairns. What are often seen as a large pile of stones are infact diverse and changing, active monuments. At the same time a study of their immediate topographic setting demonstrates that some are located to 'show themselves' to certain areas and are located on particular parts of a summit or hill, and generalised observations can be made to suggest or support the claim of specific landscape referencing.

In reading Fleming's (1999) response to Tilley's (1994) book the problem is not a philosophical one but methodological one. His criticism focuses on a more localised contextual approach "in general, one has to ask how far 'extensive' views are simply the chance by product of siting choices made on the basis of more local considerations" (Fleming 1999: 123). In a way he is almost suggesting a more bodily interpretation, although this is never said. Indeed, at the end of the paper he cites some very different factors that may have affected their location such as the stars, or a overlooking -literally or symbolically- a larger or smaller area such as a river or route way (Fleming 1999). As Tilley notes (2010: 479) "on the one hand, he seems to disparage the entire idea that landscape features had any significance at all. On the other hand, consistently makes interesting individual observations".

In his (2005) paper and (2006) Fleming widens the critique to focus on Cummings & Whittle's study of megalithic monuments in southwest Wales, focusing his same misgivings for Tilley's (1994) interpretation. However, the stand point appears much more personal and takes particular cause with Cosgrove's analysis of the scientific geographer as detached and 'outside', writing that practitioners within post-processual landscape studies "have encouraged us to see the traditional landscape archaeologist, like Cosgrove's geographer, as the observer rather than participant" (Fleming 2005: 271). It would seem that this "them and us" kind of situation and the 'Traditional Landscape Archaeologist' is a breed soon to be extinct. Again, later in the same paragraph Fleming continues to highlight the landscape archaeologist -traditional- as being engaged with a "distinctive craft in the open air" (Fleming 2005: 271), almost

suggesting its uniqueness and need to be skilled. This stands in opposition to Tilley's suggestion that phenomenological study is a democratic one open to teacher and student requiring no fancy equipment or expertise in using it (Tilley 2008b: 273). In much of the text there is a large amount of discussion on Cosgrove's (1984) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* and his criticism of the dominance of the visual. Although Fleming does not criticise the visual in phenomenology, he points out the visual dimensions are part of the landscape archaeologist's method and his main problem is the comparison of the visual in traditional landscape archaeology as controlling what people get to see. The interesting point is that he then comments how in reality the study of monuments involves someone "a figure whose feet, shod in boots traditionally characterised as muddy are firmly on the ground" (Fleming 2005: 272). Perhaps I am being over critical and analytical but the above is an overly bodily oriented description of contemporary bodies (people) doing archaeology. It is sometimes not easy to fully appreciate the difficulty he finds with placing the bodily experiences of people in the past.

Before concluding this section I would like to briefly draw on the criticism of the contemporary bodily landscape perspective that Brűck (2005) highlights and brings in the notion of "lateral universals" mentioned at the beginning of this section. Brűck (2005: 54) comments how one of the most hotly debated and probably contentious issues within phenomenology is whether contemporary encounters with landscapes can equate to the embodied experiences of people in the past. In both *Exploring the Landscape* and *The Individual and the Self* sections of her paper she highlights that the body is socially and culturally constructed and that bodily practices will denote certain categories of people or self and thus our own bodily encounters with ancient monuments are therefore unlikely to match past peoples' (Brűck 2005: 55, see also Barrett & Ko 2009). Similarly Brűck also suggests that where the "bones" (Tilley 2004b) of the landscape are essentially the same and thus enables a similar affectual engagement as those of people in the past so Phenomenology is a methodological tool for accessing experiences and interpretations. Brűck comments that this is problematic due to changes in vegetation cover and the same landscape will change at different times of the year. Neither is of great methodological concern as appreciation of changing vegetation cover is *a priori* when considering landscapes and monuments within that landscape. Also to point out that landscapes look and feel quite different according to seasons and time of day is not one that Tilley ignores. Indeed with

reference to the coombes in *Round Barrows and Dykes as Landscape Metaphor* (2004b) he describes how atmospheric effect and temperature inversions will fill the coombes with mist and that in some cases water will start to appear and then disappear after a few hours or days (Tilley 2004b: 196).

The criticism related to the body and the contemporary experience -i.e. who is experiencing, their age, gender, sexual orientation is a problematic one. However, as Tilley (2010) points out although he is white, middle class, heterosexual, male and middle aged the observations he has made have been noted by Vicki Cummings (2002) in relation to the megalithic monuments of southwest Wales. On a more theoretical criticism of his approach as anachronistic and essentialist (Brűck 2005: 59) relating to the body and self, Tilley (2010) responds by commenting that the body invoked in the studies is one that ignores the cultural multiplicities in the way the body and self are culturally constructed, and accepts that such a perspective is an important one. Tilley also points out that applying such a process to interpreting prehistoric landscapes and monuments is problematic due to the paucity of high quality evidence to work with (Tilley 2010: 473). Following this, he continues to point out that the body in his studies is Universalist in the sense that it has a distinctively human perspective apparatus, one of binocular vision, upright and two legged posture for walking (Tilley 2010: 473). This is where I would like to refer back to the 'Lateral Universals' (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 120 from Casey 2008: 45) mentioned at the start of this section. These are 'Lateral Universals' of both place and, I would suggest, experience and the physiology of the human body. If the prehistoric people were not disabled or sensorily impaired then it is more than likely that the physical experiences will be the same (Tilley 2010).

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Methodological Approach for the Archaeological Study

The multi-faceted nature of this study aims to provide an insight to both past and contemporary relations with the landscape of Dartmoor. The first part of the study, focusing on the prehistoric remains and natural features, hopes to demonstrate a close relationship between the two -how the natural features of the landscape acted upon 'humans' as much as 'humans' acted upon the landscape. The application of a 'holistic' and 'sensory' approach will hopefully demonstrate how the anthropogenic features interacted with the landscape and also how the different constituent parts/elements of the landscape may have been central in forming peoples' experience. Both the second and third parts of the study are aimed at illustrating contemporary feelings, experiences, attachments, and essentially bodily engagements to Dartmoor. This will be done through structured and unstructured interviews with locals and tourists/visitors to gain an insight into their views of Dartmoor's past and its contemporary landscape. Essentially it is concerned with the 'Place' of landscape. The third part of the study will focus on visual representations and literature, to study how they continue to structure and sustain peoples' feelings towards Dartmoor.

Studies of 'monumentality' have focused primarily on individual monuments types and the roles which they fulfil. Such a strategy places monuments and artefacts into specific categories and fails to consider the complexity of their relation with each other and the landscape. Therefore, the aim of this study is to apply a Phenomenological approach to the monuments and landscape of two specific areas within southern Dartmoor. By contextualising the 'ritual' monuments and settlement evidence, and adopting a landscape based approach it is hoped that a better understanding of the relationship between monument, settlement and landscape will be gained. The aim of a microtopographical survey of the two areas is two investigate how together the landscape, natural features and the archaeological remains create embodied space.

Walking and surveying the landscape, noting placement of monuments and settlements in relation to the height of particular topographical features (water, tors), their immediate location/setting and their location in relation to other remains and features will help in familiarising myself to the terrain and an gain an embodied knowledge of the surroundings in which they and myself are located (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008, Tilley 2008a, 2010), but will also hopefully demonstrate the many

nested features of the landscape and complexity of the landscape relationship between monuments, settlement and landscape (Bender, Hamilton & Tilley 2010). I provide a detailed list of the questions/focus for this part of the study in the Fieldwork Analysis chapter. Visiting Dartmoor and the sites at different seasons and at different times of the day is another strategy employed to try and fully appreciate the character and personality of Dartmoor (Ingold 2007b, 2010, Tilley 2010). There is also a consideration (where possible) of the qualities of the stone used in the construction of the stone rows. Rock art studies have noted the encultured nature of many rock faces used for carving and painting (Jones 2006, Ouzman 2001, Tilley 2008a). Similarly Tilley & Bennett (2004a) have re-evaluated the menhirs of Brittany and noted many complexities in colour and form of the stone. Such ideas have been used to note if any such characteristics are noticeable on Dartmoor.

On Dartmoor little consideration has been paid to the changing perceptions of the landscape and how monuments and settlements structure this perception. Emmet (1979) demonstrated how stone rows exhibit a wide variety of form, often suggesting several phases of construction. Other studies of the monuments and landscape have tended to focus on the size of individual stones and how many were used in the construction of stone rows or stone circles, and examining the diameters of the hut circles or the evolutionary/chronological sequence of one settlement type against another. None have considered an 'holistic' approach between anthropogenic features and the natural features of the landscape and how they might structure someone's perception. Primarily the landscape has been considered in functional and economic terms. For example, where a settlement may use clitter as part of a surrounding wall it has been viewed as a functional use of the natural features. As true as this might be, there may have been a more intimate relationship between settlements and the unaltered landscape (Bender, Hamilton & Tilley 2007). The same is true for the 'ritual' monuments. As mentioned, the aim of this study is to apply a more 'holistic' approach to the monuments, settlements and landscape of two specific areas of southern Dartmoor. Each place or monument can be viewed as 'sets' or 'complexes' of inter-related places that may well provide different perceptions of the surrounding landscape and express different cosmologies or mythologies. Different materials may be employed in their construction, which may have some form of specific meaning. Together they work to make physical statements and embody experiences of place and link them with ideas of memory or mythological origins (Bender, Hamilton & Tilley 2007).

1.3.2 Studying the Natural Features

An important element in understanding and experiencing the Moor is to take into account how the natural features evoke an emotional response from the viewer. The weather and seasonal changes in vegetation and light are equally important in how the body responds to its surroundings. For example, viewing a tor silhouetted against a dark grey cloudy storm filled sky would certainly fill one with excitement and at the same time a sense of oppressiveness. Compare this to a scene in the height of summer with the light bouncing off the white feldspar crystals, with the tors silhouetted against a blue skyline (see figure 1.1) -the whole atmosphere is changed from one of intensity and brooding to one of beauty and serenity. Similarly, the changes in vegetation will hide and expose different features, colours and smells which will have a marked difference from to season to season.

Of the approximate one hundred and fifty tors (Crossing 1994), numbers vary according to one's definition of a tor, there are a variety of forms and locations. The mechanical and chemical weathering have created a huge variety of tor shapes, and the joints that carve the granite into what have been described as 'cyclopean masonry' provide the tors with a distinct character all of their own. Worth (1953) comments on the differing effects created by the jointing on various tors. Combestone Tor (see figure 1.4) demonstrates the type of 'cyclopean masonry' termed by Worth, that of large irregular granite blocks. The tors of Little Lynx Tor (see figure 1.2) and Watern Tor (see figure 1.3) illustrate a completely different type of jointing termed 'lamellar' that creates a very different shape and character than that of the horizontal and vertical jointing of the 'cyclopean' type. As one moves around a tor its whole appearance can change. Crossing (1986) notes how from one angle a tor may resemble a ruined castle, from another a gigantic animal or a rough likeness to the human form.

Another important element to the study is the constituent elements of the tors. For example their colour, size of feldspar inclusions and whether they are more prominent in one area of the tor than another. Are there any rock basins and if so how many and where are they located on the tor? How would the tors have been effected by past vegetation? What sorts of views are afforded from the tor's base and top (see figure 1.1 & 1.4). In the southern part of Dartmoor the tors encircle the edge of the moor and dominate the skyline of the east and south-west areas. From these tors one has contrasting views of the rounded and treeless interior of the Moor and the rolling

lowlands that lead to the estuaries of the south coast and the English Channel. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that tree cover has changed since the beginning of the Bronze Age. Some of the tors are located on the tops of hills like 'lonely watch towers' (Crossing 1986: 11) others are located on valley sides that either slope gently down-hill or are situated so one side is a sheer drop down to the valley bottom. Accompanying many of the tors are clitter spreads that add an increased ruggedness to the Moor. Located on the sides of the hills or around the base of the tors Crossing (1986) notes how the streams of rocks and stone-dotted commons contribute so much to giving the Moor its distinctive character (see figure 1.1). Walking through and around them will be important in discovering how or if they change the surrounding landscape form. What is their relation with anthropogenic features? Grinsell (1978) and Turner (1990) note how cairns are constructed to include or surround particular tors or rock outcrops, and Butler (1997) comments some enclosures incorporate clitter spreads. The clitter spreads themselves may well have been much more clearly defined. Areas of vegetation may have been kept clearded, certain stones moved into different positions all to deliberately make them more obvious and enable a constant reciprocation.

Figure 1.1. Hentor in the Plym Valley showing clitter spread (By author).

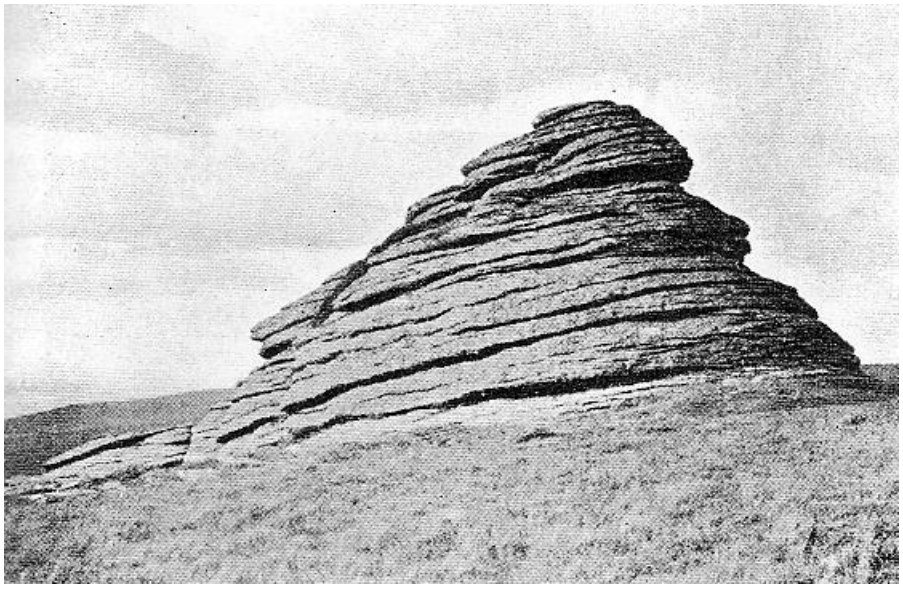


Figure 1.2. Little Lynx Tor showing Lamellar jointing (Worth 1953).

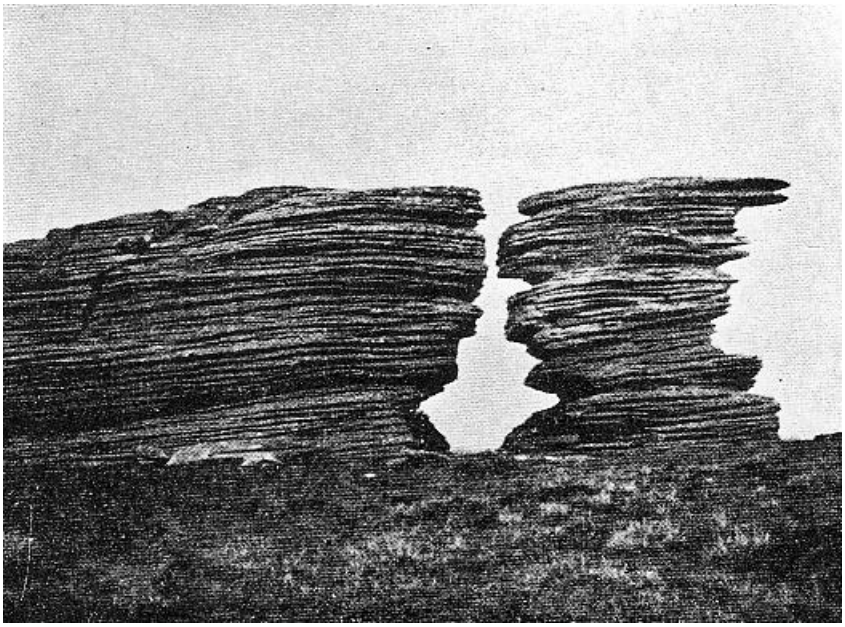


Figure 1.3. Watern Tor showing Lamellar jointing (Worth 1953).

The many contrasting landscapes will have within them many different nested features that will frame various parts of the landscape. It is proposed that both natural and cultural features will together create different and unique experiences across a landscape that might seem generically the same. Hopefully, the above has demonstrated how the many different elements of the natural landscape are to be considered and will form part of the study, alongside the anthropogenic features.

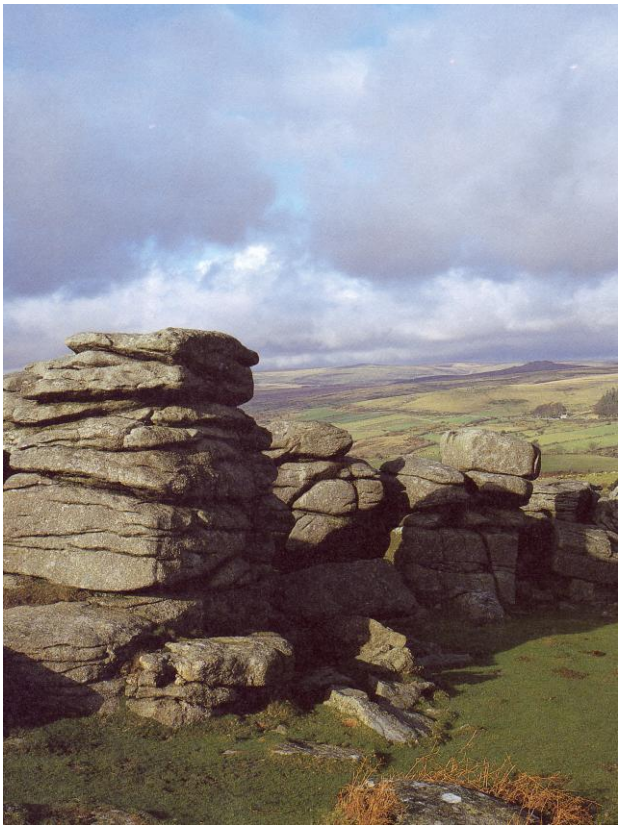


Figure 1.4. Combestone Tor with views of the Dart Valley and open moorland (Westlake 1987).

1.3.3 Methodology for the Study of Contemporary Engagements and Representations

As well as a focus on how the topographical and geological 'make up' of Dartmoor informed and continues to inform the character of the people who are part of the Moor, there is also a focus on the importance and role of movement and specifically walking the landscape.

Dartmoor as a landscape, as material culture and as place provides the grounding for people to create attachments and memories via their bodily involvement. On a walk before I started my fieldwork proper, I met a man walking in one of the study areas. We stopped, chatted and he said he had come from Buckinghamshire to see his daughters. What struck me in the conversation was when he said that he had to get out onto Dartmoor at least once otherwise his time in Devon had not been a visit, even though he had come to see his daughters. On other occasions, during the same week of my pre-fieldwork walk, I came across flowers and tokens that had been left, as one assumes, for remembrance. One particular location was just down from one of the Bronze Age settlements near the head of a stream; someone had left a bunch of red roses. A similar observation was made when my family and I scattered my grand-parents remains at

their favourite location, there had been a number of flowers placed along the path we took from the road. This particular location has beautiful views over the Widecombe Valley and as it had been for my family is no doubt a place where countless people visit. Finally, over the last few years, each Easter my cousin organises a sponsored walk in aid of Cystic Fibrosis, which his son had died from. The walk is centred around the Haytor area -the tor itself is probably one of the most recognised and visited of the Dartmoor Tors- and the walk would follow a route that stopped off at a number of other tors and rock outcrops along its route. In the process of the walk and stopping for tea or lunch, conversation would turn to memories and experiences of previous walks both as a group and individually.

What the short anecdotes or stories demonstrate is how Dartmoor forms an important constituent ingredient (Casey 2001) in how people remember and engage with themselves, as a group and with the dead. It also highlights walking as memory. To walk the same route, as the sponsored walk did, can mean to think the same thoughts again, as though thoughts and ideas are indeed fixed objects in a landscape, one need only know how to travel through it (Solnit 2001: 77).

With focus of the study on how Dartmoor not only influenced and structured perception and embodiment in the past, there is also an interest in how it continues to structures peoples' character in the present. The methodological approaches that I use involve a phenomenological investigation of contemporary embodied experiences using unstructured interviews to gain a more subjective understanding, one concerned with embodiment and how it is formed. An interview aims to understand how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives. The emphasis is on considering the meanings people attribute to their own lives and the processes which operate in particular contexts (Anderson 2001: 255). Therefore, the use of both kinds of interview would hopefully gain a deeper insight into peoples' experiences. The use of structured interviews and a close analysis of textual representations of Dartmoor would be used to support the third part of the study that is aimed at how representations of the Moor continue to reinforce the ideas of a countryside idyll.

For the unstructured interviews, I talked to farmers, people who lived and worked on Dartmoor -but were not farmers- and ramblers. The three groups were chosen as they all had a deep interest in Dartmoor whether emotionally or practically -farming, walking- and it was felt that they also would have the most bodily immersion within the Moor and have an appreciation for the many nuances that are part of the Moor's character

(Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008). The way in which I was able to get in contact with those interviewed was by word of mouth and directly contacting them. Through meetings with people at the Dartmoor National Parks office I was put in touch with people who they felt would be interested in taking part and talking about their experiences and feelings, these were primarily the farmers interviewed. After interviewing, I would ask if they knew anyone who would be interested to take part. With regards to people who lived and worked on the Moor, such as artists, I contacted them through their web pages and again asked if they were aware of anyone else who might be interested. With regards to the ramblers, I sent an email to the web site and posted a message asking if anyone would like to take part. With the responses I received, I then asked if they were aware of anyone who might be interested and progressed from there (appendix E provides an outline of those interviewed and their involvement with Dartmoor. All names that are used in the thesis have been changed to keep anonymity.). There were of course people that I would like to have interviewed, such as those involved in the running of park authority, but after contacting they were unable to be involved. Therefore, with a crib sheet of ideas which I wanted to approach, the interviews would be allowed to flow as naturally as possible. The aim of the unstructured interview is to try as much as possible to break the interviewer-interviewee relationship. By carrying out the interviews in the places that they felt comfortable it was hoped and felt that the responses would be able to illicit both emotional and bodily responses. The influence for this came from a number of studies that have highlighted how and where an interview is carried out will affect the responses given (Jones, P., *et al* 2008, Sheller & Urry 2006). Much of the recent work has interestingly focused on walking and talking -walking interviews- in areas of familiarity that initiate responses and further highlights the importance of body and place (Anderson 2001, Carpiano 2009, Jones, P., *et al* 2008, Kusenbach 2003).

Just as important in understanding socio-spatial dimensions of human knowledge, is the place where an interview -semi or unstructured/structured/ or participant observation- occurs. Recently 'talking whilst walking' as a methodological technique has been used with the explicit premise to seek and harness relationships between humans and place, to uncover meanings and understandings of their life world (Anderson 2001). In my own work some of the interviews were undertaken outside on the Moor and the others -apart from one- were carried out in their homes and on their farms. Although these were not walking interviews -and this is a technique I would like

to apply in the future- the importance of the interviews being carried out in places familiar to them contributed to an increased sense of placeness. For example, one of the farmers interviewed, Bill, took me around his farm and showed me where some of the prehistoric flints he had were found, where other archaeological remains were and the topography of his land. You are 'in' the place you are talking about and where 'he himself is in place'.

The third aspect of the study is a focus on contemporary representations of Dartmoor and how they are used to create and sustain the fantasy that is Dartmoor. For a long time the representation of Dartmoor, especially through literature, was one of a squalid, damp and hostile landscape only suitable for grazing of animals. The use of the landscape for grazing has not changed -although this has lessened- but peoples' perception of Dartmoor as a hostile landscape has. Poetry, paintings by Inchbold and Widgery, the writings of Samuel Rowe and William Crossing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively have created an image of an area with many beauties to be experienced. Postcards and photography have had a particular effect on the visualisation of landscapes, especially in the west where the visual holds precedence over the other senses. Edwards (1996) writes how photography is a visual conduit and natural icon for experience, the photograph shows expectations and experience, it shows the nature and essence of things (Favero 2007, Feighey 2003, Scarles 2004). Although Edwards is referring specifically to photography in the production and use in postcards and in the context of tourism, they also have an impact on the identity of, in this case, landscapes. Linked with words such as 'primitive', 'wilderness', 'remote' and 'unspoilt' they create notions of purity culture and purity of nature (Cohen 1989 from Edwards 1996).

1.4 Closing Thoughts

The above sections have attempted to demonstrate and outline the influences and theoretical avenue which the study is following. It has not been exhaustive as this would indeed take a whole book, many of which already exist. However, it is hoped that the reader takes away with them an understanding of the aim of the study. This is essentially that throughout phenomenological and anthropological literature there is considerable support for the basic point that the identities of persons are significantly related to the topographies and geologies of the landscapes (Tilley 2009: 33-34). The

use of interviews with people who are involved with Dartmoor aims to complement a study with two areas of Southern Dartmoor and their Bronze Age remains, as well as an appreciation of how it is represented to demonstrate how Dartmoor is part of their character and Being. It does not take place abstractedly on top or outside it, but is rooted within it (Tilley 2009: 34).

Before continuing with the main body of the study both chapters 2 and 3 will outline how Dartmoor has evolved both physically and as an area of study. The following chapter provides the reader with an understanding of the processes, geological, ecological and anthropogenic which have created and changed Dartmoor, eventually forming the landscape in its contemporary appearance. Chapter 3 provides an account of past archaeological studies on Dartmoor and a detailed outline of the Bronze Age remains that are the focus for the first aspect of the study.

Vision and movement through the landscape by walking are the primary focus for the study. As aspects such as vegetation cover or the lack of modern encroachment onto or around the study areas has little or no effect on Dartmoor or the sites to be studied. Therefore, it was felt that a consideration on visibility as a form of embodiment would be a valid form of discourse to link both the Bronze Age and contemporary periods. With regards to how the body is fundamental in a phenomenological study and the central element in how 'being' and place become embodied, essentially how as humans we inhabit the world, walking is the process that both Bronze Age and contemporary people have in common. Walking provides the link between both worlds, as our physiologies are the same. Of course in a practical sense what we wear has changed, but the physical experience of walking and moving through the landscape, and one that has changed little, will be very similar. It is also walking that links the three strands of enquiry together as all have a focus on how we as humans and through our bodies come to inhabit and embody the world around us.

Chapter 2

Dartmoor: A Synthesis of its Landscape Character

2.1 A Diverse Landscape

The granite massif that is Dartmoor forms the most prominent morphological element in the landscape of southwest England. In elevation, the upland is everywhere over 700ft, with the highest summits reaching heights of over 2000ft (Brunsden & Gerrard 1970). The area may be regarded as a plateau, dissected by deep valleys which possess a relative relief of up to 500ft, with the higher ridges of High Wilhays to Yes Tor at 2039ft referred to as the 'roof of Devon' (Worth 1953: 6). Within southern Dartmoor the principal hills range from up to 1200 to 1600ft and are defined by a complex series of basin like valleys and narrow gorges. Moving to the moorland edge the slopes are steep and have a relative relief of over 1000ft (Brunsden & Gerrard 1970: 22). Where the streams move from granite onto sedimentary rock and the slopes become steeper, the river will at times occupy a gorge with almost perpendicular cliffs (Worth 1953: 39). Within these gorges where the two rock types meet sometimes waterfalls are formed, as the water erodes the sedimentary rock faster than the granite. Within the stream/river beds smaller minor falls are created by the presence of granite veins in between the sedimentary rock. The same form of erosion occurs that creates the larger waterfalls found on rivers such as the Lyd, or the waterfall at Becky Falls. Therefore we have a topographic or physical landscape of higher elevations in the north gradually descending as you move south. The rounded hills of the interior represent the points at which the granite rose higher into its overburden and the valleys are the lines along which folds of slate or other rocks were pressed down into the granite surface (Worth 1953: 17). Off the granite, in the sedimentary rocks, there is the presence of steep sided valleys. Within the areas of the upland granite there are areas that open out to broad flats. As mentioned, the strength of the granite compared to the sedimentary rocks and the action of water have formed waterfalls, but where the granite is decomposed and weak the action of water has created the valley flats. Where kaolinization and the alteration of the granite to growan have taken place the ground becomes less resistant to the movement and action of water. Where broad valleys flats are found it has invariably been formed by the river/stream wandering side to side and displacing the growan or china clay (Worth 1953: 40).

The tors that crown so many of the moorland hills owe their appearance to the mechanical and chemical weathering, for example freeze-thaw action has levered huge blocks that form the clitter spreads surrounding the tors and slopes of the hills. Tors are the product of differential erosion determined by the spacing of the joints within the granite. The exposed granite generally displays both vertical and horizontal jointing (see figure 2.1).

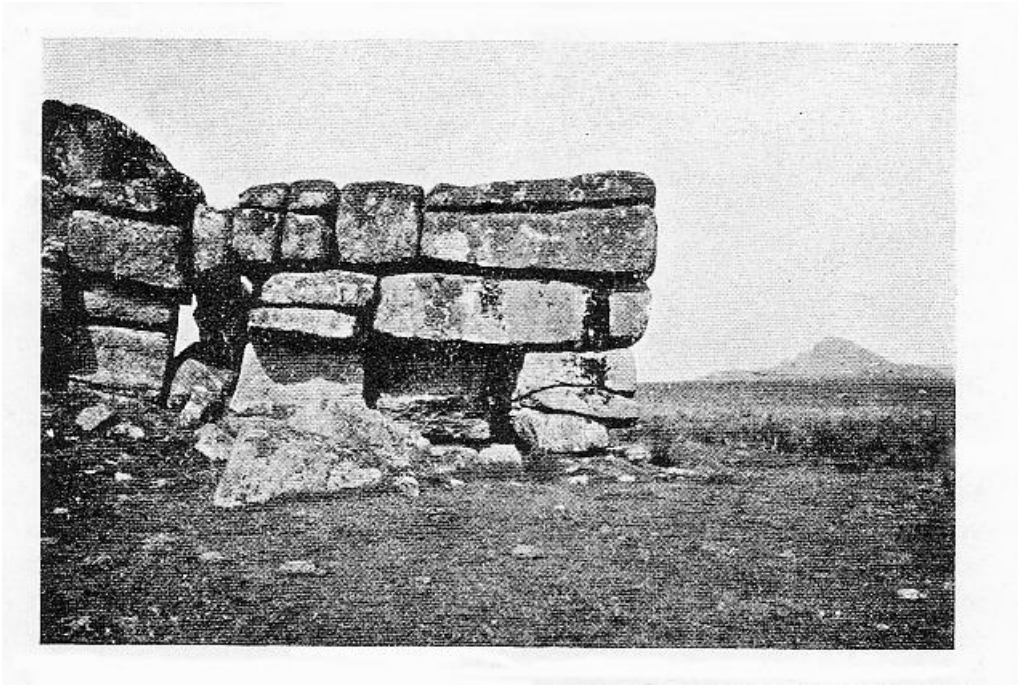


Figure 2.1 . Litaford Tor showing the horizontal and vertical jointing (Worth 1953).

The vertical joints are thought to have been caused by the contraction of the granite as it cooled. The more horizontal joints often appear to closely follow the slope of the surrounding land, these were probably formed as the pressure was released from the overlying rocks when removed by the process of erosion. As well as the tors, clitter spreads are a common occurrence. The blocks are frequently sub angular, but can be rounded with their principal axis lying along the hillside approximately on a level contour (Worth 1953). In some areas the clitter radiate downhill in lines and have sometimes been confused as the work of humans. 'Logan rocks' are an enigmatic geological feature. Weathering has eroded the granite in such away that it is rounded, and a tiny part of the granite is in contact with the block that it sits upon. This enables the whole rock to be moved with little effort. On some 'logan rocks' and tors, rock basins have formed and again were once commonly interpreted as the work of man. Their creation is due to weak feldspar crystals being split by frost, the fragments

become loose and are then dislodged by wind or water. Over time the continued action of frost, water and wind slowly gives way to a rock basin (see figure 2.7).

The geological processes, the weather and the action/movement of the streams and rivers has produced a broken landscape of valleys both deep and shallow that lends itself to a varied landscape with changing soils that creates a varied vegetation. The rivers and streams of Dartmoor have not only helped in the formation of Dartmoor's physical appearance, but many writers such as Rowe (1848) and Crossing (1967) refer to the Moor as "the mother of many rivers", and note how the " smiling pleasantness" of lowland Devon owes much of its beauty to the numerous rivers that flow off Dartmoor. The principal rivers of the East and West Dart, the Rivers Tavy and Walkham drain the northern plateau in a generally southerly direction (Crossing 1967). Other streams/rivers that flow southwards and empty into the English Channel are the Avon, Erme, Yealm, Plym, Meavy, Lyd and the North and South Teign. Those that flow north and into the Bristol Channel are the East and West Oakments, the Redaven, Blackaven and the Taw. All across the Moor tributaries join the principal larger streams and hundreds more small streams further join the principal rivers at the borders of the Moor (Crossing 1967: 17). The rounded hills with relatively gentle slopes and where the heads of rivers are located are often where the bogs or mires will be found with their associated flora. The steep, stony hillsides will most of the time be dry, and these are the areas where bracken and heather will be concentrated.

The moorland communities can be divided into wet and dry (Brunsden & Gerrard 1970, Worth 1953). The wet moors include purple moor grass, bog cotton grass, cross-leaved heath, ling and bell heather. The dry moors are divided into grass, heather and whortleberry moors. Other plants present within the dry moors are western furze, bracken and the grasses *Nardus stricta*, *Agrostis seteccea* and *Deschampsia flexuosa* (Brunsden &Gerrard 1970: 42). Surrounding the bogs, buckbean can be found and recognised by its sea-green leaves and its white flower tinged with pink. The golden asphodel is common with its shades of yellow from the deep tinted buds to the paler flower. Such bright colours and variety of plants almost dispels the idea of how treacherous bogs can be, especially after rain, but Crossing reminds the walker to be wary of 'feather beds'. These are 10-12ft in diameter and covered by moss of a beautiful bright green. Should you step onto it there is nothing to stop you plunging into a deep hole full of 'ooze' (Crossing 1981: 4). It must not be forgotten that on the moor itself are the woodlands of Wistman's Wood, Piles Wood and Black Tor Beare. These

woodlands occur in the sheltered valleys and areas with very rough bouldery ground. Many argue that these three woodlands are the only original to be found on Dartmoor (Worth 1953). These woodlands contain low stunted trees, with the dominant species being Pedunoculate Oak, with occasional Ash and Holly.

Many of the early writings on Devon and the West Country tend only to touch upon the landscape of Dartmoor. W. G. Maton (1794-6) in his '*Observations on the Western Counties of England*' writes of Dartmoor as the "most dreary tract of land" (Gibson 1967), The perception of Dartmoor during the times of its occupation has frequently changed and thus influenced the behaviour of those who work and visit it. William Camden in 1586 describes Dartmoor as "Squalida Montana Dertmore" and Risdon apologizes for detaining the reader " on a place so wild, with so slender repast, where it is to be doubted you have taken the cold, or the cold hath caught you" (Worth 1953: 3). Manning-Saunders (1949: 76) writes of Dartmoor as a world of superb landscapes and glowing colour, swift golden rivers, shining valleys and great hills. For Manning-Saunders, Dartmoor unlike Bodmin Moor is fall of infinite shapes and colour with a geniality that is most tender on days of calm. Hoskins (1954) refers to Dartmoor as the 'Great Source'. Its granite produced the stone for man's earliest huts, sacred avenues and burial chambers and long afterwards for the churches of Dartmoor and Devon, and for London's streets and bridges. Hoskins noting the mineral wealth of the Moor, in the form of tin, arsenic, copper, and iron, comments "never hath anger so much beauty made. Behold his passion into marble cooled, his burning ashes into fields allayed, his frowns fair streams" (Hoskins 1954: 15).

Dartmoor, to many writers is a country/landscape of "otherness" and an area trapped by time in some fossilised state, "regions like this, which have come down to us rude and untouched from the beginning of time, fill the mind with grand conceptions, far beyond the efforts of art and cultivation (Gilpin from Rowe 1848: 1). The view from the lowlands up to Dartmoor is equally important in forming the viewer's perception of the Moor. William Howitt in his '*Rural Life of England*' writes, "I shall never forget the feelings of delicious entrancement with which I approached the outskirts of Dartmoor" (Rowe 1848: 2). Baring-Gould (1982: 15) refers to the views of the tors from off Dartmoor as "that of a dust sheet thrown over the dining room chairs, the backs of which resemble the tors divided from one another by easy sweeps of turf". Indeed it is the tors that are undoubtedly the landmarks of Dartmoor. Howitt refers to them as those glowing ruddy tors standing in the blue air in their sublime silence (see figure 2.2 of

Haytor) (Rowe 1848: 3). The capping of many of the hills around the moorland edge with a tor, has likened the Moor to a castle where the mysterious shadowy hills and rock formations encircle it like a rampart, while moated by deep valleys which wind around its base and are replenished by streams (Rowe 1848: 6). Views from the tors provide a great opportunity to fully experience the rounded and undulating landscape of Dartmoor, and although perhaps a little clichéd one does feel elevated and detached from the surrounding landscape. The wealth of Crossing's work is in the detail in which he describes everything that is worthy of seeing and especially its topographic description. Crossing writes of North Hisworthy Tor, that while no means striking in its appearance its chief reward is the view from the summit. From it he writes that one may look down from the crest of Hisworthy and read the modern Dartmoor (Crossing 1981: 85). Northward and southward are the untamed hills, rising grim and bare, vast tracts where nothing of man's work is seen. Between these wild tracts lies the more sheltered part, where the settler has formed his enclosures, and planted his few trees and made his roads. Man has does something here, but when the beholder again looks upon the dusty sweeps that roll away into the blue distance, he realises how little it is (Crossing 1981: 85).

Dartmoor continues to provide poetical delight for those who live and visit. Artists such as Turner, Widgery, Brewster and Inchbold have all used the Moor as inspiration for their art. Community based projects such as 'The Dart Projects' use current and past influences as the foundation for artistic investigation and interpretation, it is a community's perambulation of 'Place'. The 'soundscapes' of Dartmoor have also been recorded as part of 'Sounding Dartmoor', an environmentally oriented public arts project. Web pages are dedicated to people's personal feelings towards the Moor and its many personalities. Rowe (1848) describes it as "natures wondrous laboratory", a landscape of hurrying rivers and rounded undulating hills with the appearance of rolling waves in a tempestuous ocean, fixed into solidity by some instantaneous and powerful impulse.

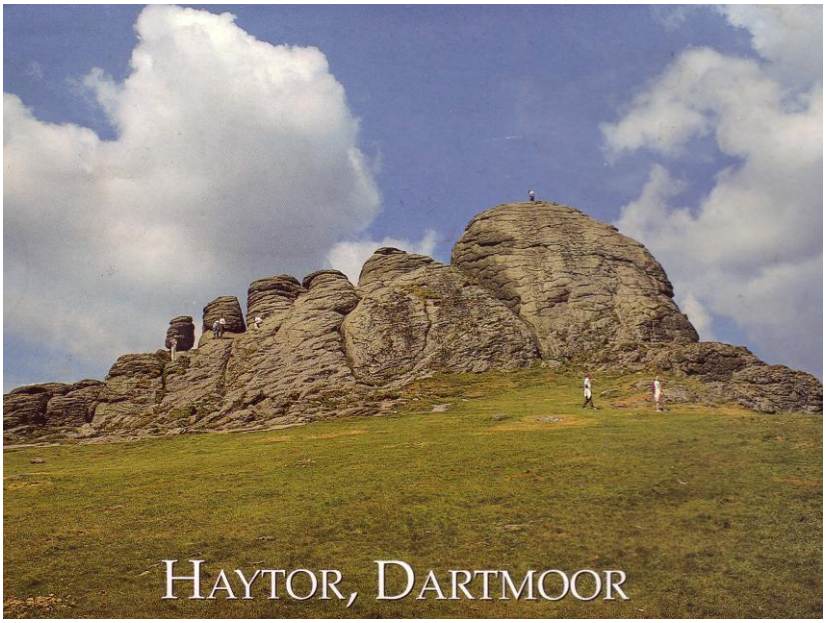


Figure 2.2. Postcard of Haytor (Hinde 1976).

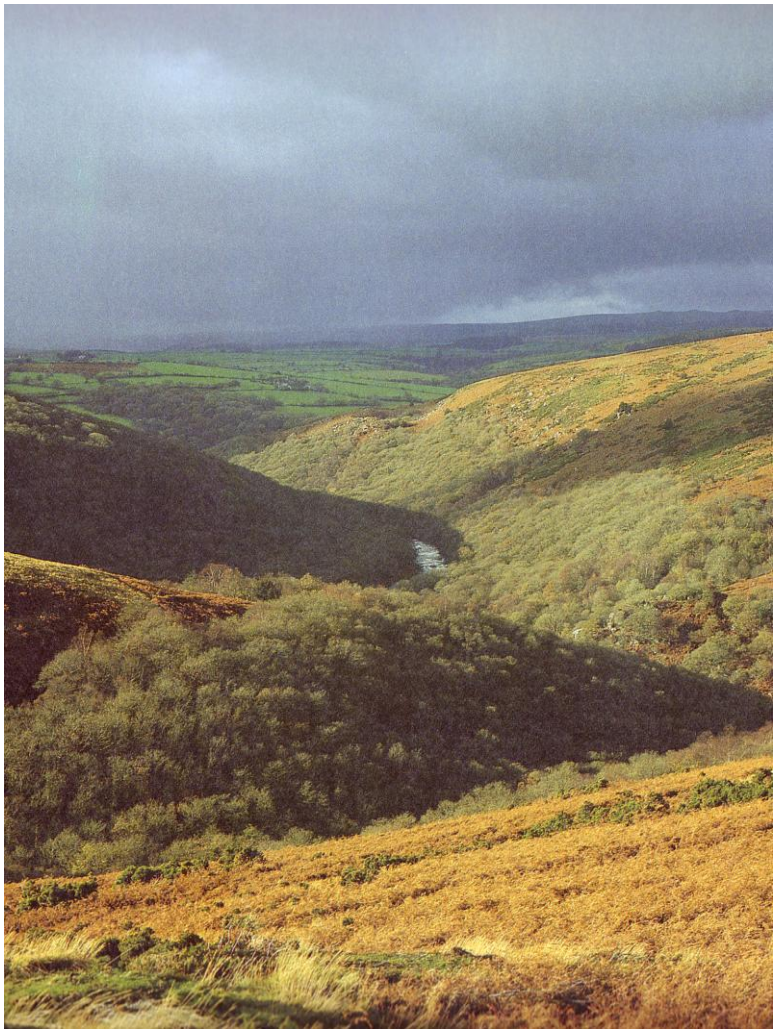


Figure 2.3. The Dart Valley with its rounded hills and deep cut sides (Westlake 1987).

2.2. The Changing Character of Dartmoor

Dartmoor holds a prominent position, both physically and in the psyche of those who live and visit the area. Many peoples' perceptions and experience of Dartmoor have been formed by its barren, windswept and marginal appearance compared to the rest of Devon. Simmons (2003: 207) notes when meeting the Governor of Dartmoor Prison, whose previous job had been the equivalent in Cyprus, the governor had no hesitation in commenting how "it rains every bloody day here". However, geological studies, pollen and soil analysis along with archaeological investigations have provided a wealth of knowledge that has demonstrated how Dartmoor was once an island in the Cretaceous Period (Durrance & Laming 1993, Hawkes 1993), covered by woodland (Simmons 1964, 1969, Caseldine & Maguire 1981), and how people have lived and worked on Dartmoor from the Mesolithic to the present day (Simmons 1969, Fleming 1984, 1988. Quinell 1994). As a National Park covering 368 sq. miles (953 sq. km), Dartmoor has been protected for fifty years, and the establishment of the Devonshire Association in 1894 (Timms 1994: 18) can be seen as the first interest in its archaeological safeguarding. The role of the Dartmoor National Parks Authority provides information for the rural community by acting as a conduit for external funds, and identifying with the local rural community as much with the national scene, the environmental and economic situation of Dartmoor (Simmons 2003: 303). In 1993, in the first such agreement in all of England, English Heritage passed management of the Grimspound enclosure over to the National Parks Authority for conservation and preservation of the site (Timms 1994: 18). Although very brief, the above paragraph demonstrates how Dartmoor was and continues to be a landscape continually changing. The following section will focus on a synthesis of Dartmoor's geology, ecology and the following chapter focusing on the Moor's later prehistoric archaeological remains. The purpose is not to provide a detailed analysis of these topics but to provide a context in which Dartmoor is situated and the context that it has within Devon as a whole.

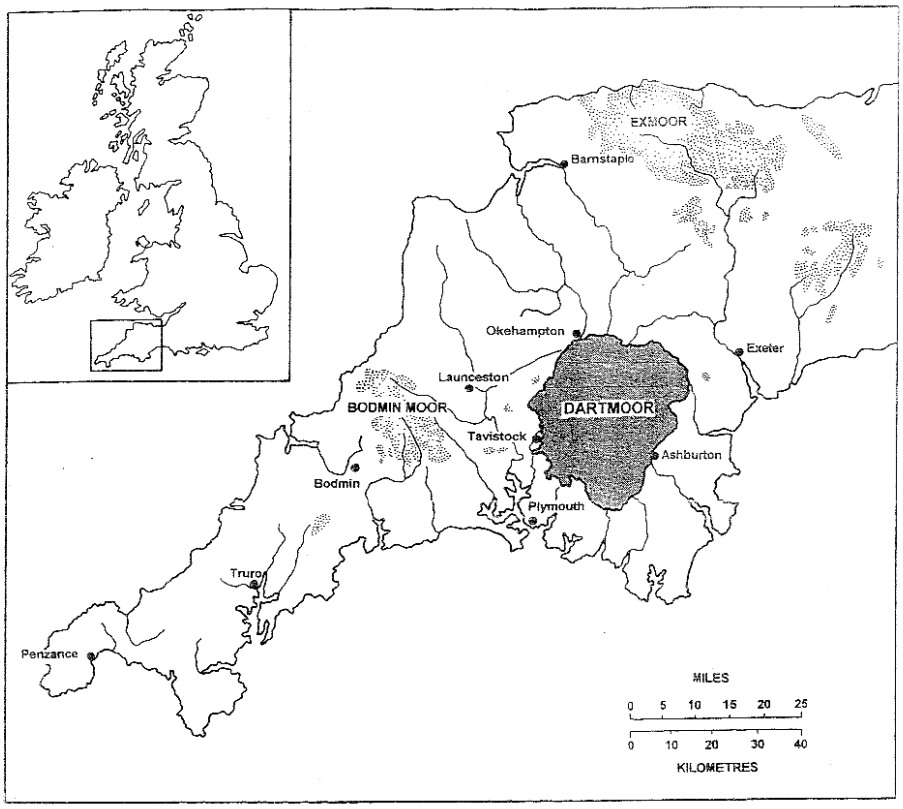
2.2.1 Geological Characteristics

The Geology of Devon

Devon is one of the largest of the English counties, measuring 118km east to west and almost the same north to south with an area of 6710 sq. km (Durrance & Laming 1993: 1). In the north of the county 100 km of coastline border the Atlantic Ocean and Bristol Channel, with 200 km running along the south coast from Dorset in the east to

Cornwall in the west and bordering the English Channel (Durrance & Laming 1993: 1). Not only does Devon have an extensive coastline demonstrating the different geologies, but also within the county there is a varied landscape. This ranges from the plateau and valleys of the Cretaceous rocks of east Devon, to the rich red earth of the Permian and Triassic lowlands, and the 'dunland' pastures of the Carboniferous of mid Devon. All of these form a marked contrast to the granite upland of Dartmoor and the Devonian sandstone moorland of Exmoor (Durrance & Maguire 1993: 1).

Figure 2.4. Map of South West England showing the location of Dartmoor (Gerrard 1997).



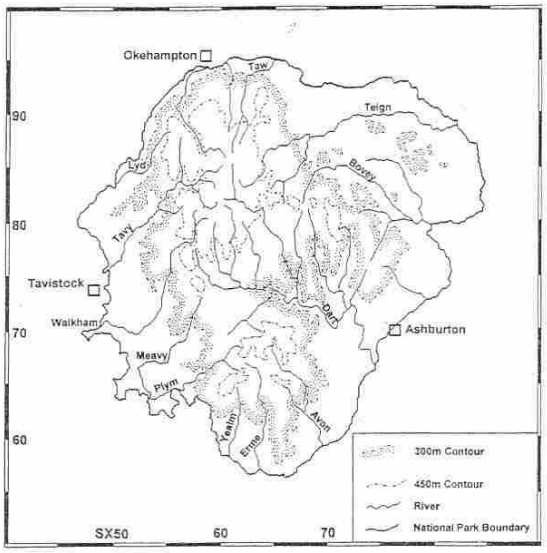


Fig 2.5. Most Dartmoor lies above 300m and has contributed to the creation and survival of archaeological landscapes. The inner border represents the National Park Boundary as redefined in 1994 (Gerrard 1997).

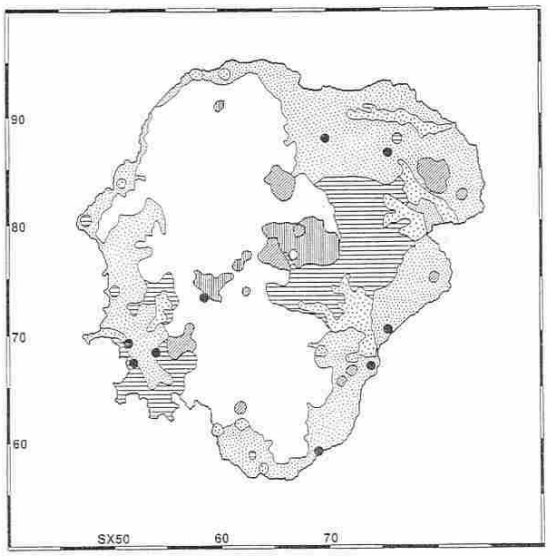


Fig 2.6. The plain white area illustrates high moorland where concentrations of archaeological sites are to be found. The dotted areas are fringe farmland where flint scatters have been recorded due to ploughing. Black dots represent major towns/villages (Gerrard 1997).

The county as we see it today was largely formed by the end of the Triassic some 195 Mya, with the Cretaceous, Jurassic and possibly Triassic strata that once covered all or part of the county being removed by erosion to reveal the present land surface (Durrance & Laming 1993). The climate and scenery of the Triassic may have been similar to the southern fringes of the Sahara Desert today, although with less life as many of the plants associated with desert life had not yet evolved (Durrance & Laming 1993: 12). Jumping to the Quaternary the county had substantially achieved its final form by the end of the Pliocene. Erosion of the land surface during the Quaternary made significant changes, and the higher areas such as Dartmoor and Exmoor were affected by the cold Sub-Arctic climate that weathered and altered slope and valley forms, fashioning the scenery of today (Durrance & Laming 1993: 14). Forests and marshes grew along the coastal fringes during the lower sea levels in the glacial epochs, eventually forming the submerged forests seen today at Tor Bay and Westward Ho! around 6000 years ago (Durrance & Laming 1993: 14).

The Geology of Dartmoor

The formation of the Dartmoor granite is a result of a seated intrusion of magma below the Devonian and Carboniferous geology. Geologists date this arrival at 290 Mya and evidence from Dartmoor demonstrates that the granite was moving northwards slightly and pushing aside folds in the rock around it (Perkins 1972: 17). The episode of tectonic movement that produced the rising of the granite is named the Variscan Orogeny (Hawkes 1993: 85). The granite covers an area approximately 625 sq. km, with the highest areas situated in the north-central parts of the granite. High Wilhays is 621m OD and the highest point on the moor situated about 5.5 km south of Okehampton (Hawkes 1993: 87). Two of the major rivers, the Teign and Dart have their sources in the north-central area and flow east, passing from granite and onto country rock (Hawkes 1993: 87). The easterly direction of the Teign and Dart is a result of the sea that covered Devon and parts of Dartmoor in the Cretaceous Period. The sea eroded the thin veneer of rock covering the granite, and with its retreat an eastward sloping floor was formed which the earliest Dartmoor rivers were soon eroding out (see figure 2.3) (Perkins 1972: 33). This phase of erosion also created the land surface seen today around High Wilhays and Cranmere Pool.

The northwest-southeast tilt that characterises Dartmoor, and formed the higher land to the north and northwest was formed during the mid-Tertiary. This meant on Dartmoor an uneven uplift tilted the upland in the south downwards, and accentuated the original eastward drainage. The southward tilt also meant the valleys of the south were enlarged due to a steeper gradient producing a greater force of water for erosion (Perkins 1972: 36). Finally by the end of the Tertiary Dartmoor was formed in its modern guise, primarily by the sea. It is estimated that a 210m sea which made Dartmoor into an island in the Early Ice Age gradually fell away in a 'staircase' of pauses, creating a series of lower surfaces before it stopped at its present height (Perkins 1972: 36). Alternative ideas for the formation of Dartmoor's land surface argue for a different sequence of events. Some geologists believe that the broad level ridges and valleys cut down from common levels are too extensive to have been formed by the high sea levels in so short a time as the million years since the ice age (Perkins 1972: 36). The unroofing of Dartmoor may go back to the Permo-Triassic and would be accompanied by a substantial shaping of the surface we see today. The climate of the Tertiary has also been cited as another cause for shaping the landscape. During this period the tropical climate produced chemical weathering that could have substantially

completed the shaping of the landscape prior to the inundation of the sea (Perkins 1972: 37).

The Dartmoor Tors and Granite

Both mechanical and chemical weathering has created the surface of the tors that so characterise Dartmoor, especially since the Ice Age. Rainwater mixing with carbon dioxide produces a weak carbonic acid that breaks down the granite and radioactive minerals, producing a potential geothermal energy resource (Perkins 1972, Durrance & Laming 1993). During the Ice Age extreme changes in climate would have further accentuated the mechanical and chemical weathering. Frost and ice action would have split the granite into large blocks or clitter, which in turn would have been slowly broken down into rotten granite or 'growan' and formed elements of the peaty soils. During the warmer summer months the topsoil thawed and moved down the hillsides under its own weight, or by the action of wind and rain. These flows are recorded as 'Head' on geological maps and contribute to the coastal scenery. Therefore, the Ice Age has created the most recent changes to the tors, slopes and clitter that are seen today on Dartmoor. Both the mechanical and chemical weathering can also give rise to smooth, bowl-like depressions known as rock basins or solution holes (see figure 2.7). The repeated freezing of water creates these in the surface irregularities where the expanding ice gradually prises out individual mineral grains. These forms of weathering have further altered a moorland already shaped by earth movements, erosion to its surfaces and selective chemical changes (Perkins 1972: 42).

An important point of consideration is also the composition and varieties of granite that occur on the moor. There are essentially three divisions of granite: Tor or 'Giant Granite', quarry or 'Blue Granite' and Aplites (Perkins 1972: 19).

- Tor or 'Giant Granite' is a coarse rock which was nearest the roof when first pushed up through the Devonian and Carboniferous beds, and forms the bulk of the Dartmoor hilltops and tors. The general form is of large quartz crystals and feldspar (aluminium silicates) reaching 3-5mm in length (Perkins 1972: 19).
- Quarry or 'Blue Granite' lies below the tor granite and have smaller grains typically 2-3mm (Perkins 1972: 19).
- Aplites are fine-grained sheet-like masses and are minor features in comparison to the whole granite area. In geological terms they indicate that granites

surrounding them were already cooler when the aplites arrived, as they show chilled edges (Perkins 1972: 19).

Dartmoor granite has three basic colours: black, grey and either creamy white or pink. For example at Trowelsworthy the granite has a distinctive red and pink colour (Perkins 1972: 46). The textural qualities and colouration of the granite have a particular significance for archaeological studies, influencing the way that people experience and perceive the landscape, particular in prehistory. It is not simply visually that we experience the landscape and world in which we inhabit, but other senses such as noise, smell and touch are fundamental. ‘Giant’ and ‘blue’ granites form 90 per cent of the exposed Dartmoor granite masses, recent geological fieldwork has recorded a close relationship between the two forms and thus amalgamated them into a single megacrystic variety (Hawkes 1993: 92). Hawkes (1993: 92) defines three principal textual materials in the Variscan granites of southwest England: coarse granite, medium-grained lithium-mica, fine-grained.

Figure 2.7. Rock Basin formed in a boulder among a clitter spread (By author).

Figure 2.8. Large feldspar crystals characterise ‘Coarse Granite’ (By author).

Coarse granite can best be defined as rock in which the mean grain size of ground-mass constituents is about 2-3mm. In the case of Dartmoor, the coarse granite is characterised for the most part by large white feldspar crystals ranging in length from 10mm to 170mm (see figure 2.8). These comprise between approximately one and 30 per cent of the rocks and, as the percentage of megacrysts increases so does their mean length (Hawkes 1993: 93). Mineralogically the two coarse granite varieties are similar, their principal constituents being feldspar, quartz and biotite. Feldspars form up to 65 per cent of the rocks, quartz occurs as irregular, translucent, grey crystals ranging form less than 1mm in diameter to composite megacrysts up to 25mm across. These account for roughly 30 per cent of the rocks. Biotite, ranges from 5-7 per cent of the rocks make-up forming dark brown flakes typically 0.5mm to about 4mm across (Hawkes 1993: 95). In areas of southwest Dartmoor; outcrops in the Plym Valley, Legis Tor and Trowlesworthy Tor, the biotite has been replaced by muscovite. During this mineralogical transformation iron was expelled and dispersed as haematite that causes a general reddening of the granite (Hawkes 1993: 95).

Medium-grained lithium-mica granite is a characteristic of the St-Austell pluton and Godolphin Mass, but is not developed at surface in any other granite’s (Hawkes 1993: 96). Northwest of Dartmoor near Meldon village, a granitic dyke made of lithium bearing material cuts country rock. The dyke, approximately 12m wide, consists of a whitish aggregate of quartz, albite and orthoclase, with flakes of lithium-mica providing

a pale brown speckled appearance (Hawkes 1993: 97). The fine granites show considerable variation in form, texture and colour. Broadly, the rocks divide into those characterised by numerous megacrysts of feldspar, quartz and biotite, and those in which megacrysts are rare (Hawkes 193: 97). The megacryst rich material contains 10 per cent to 15 per cent biotite, while the megacryst poor types have a biotite percentage of one and 5 per cent (Hawkes 1993). As a consequence, the former rocks are darker, and the latter paler than the coarse granites (Hawkes 1993: 97).

2.3 The Ecological History of the Moor

Geological studies have demonstrated the many episodes that Devon and Dartmoor have gone through, as well as their associated climate and vegetation. The main focus for this section is the changing ecology of Dartmoor from the Neolithic and during the Bronze Age with a brief outline covering the Mesolithic and when anthropogenic activity started to have an effect on the landscape. The section then finishes with a short outline highlighting the evidence from historical records. Focusing primarily on the changes during the Neolithic and Bronze Age is a long period, however, the outline aims to demonstrate the changes over the period in which Dartmoor was intensively modified and when the first structural elements were placed into the landscape. The following discussion aims to provide a picture of the possible early vegetation of Dartmoor and is completed with an outline of the possible vegetation cover for each study.

Dartmoor presents particular problems for those researching its palaeoenvironmental changes and in particular its palaeobotanical changes. Simmons (1969) comments on the lack of deposits within basins and troughs created by glacial activity and of peats accumulated during the Post-glacial -valuable sources in reconstructing environmental changes, but which are absent as a consequence of the south-west escaping the Pleistocene glaciations. There are no natural lakes on Dartmoor and as a result no lake sediments. There has also been widespread removal and disturbance of peat for fuel and of valley sediments through the activity of tinning (Caseldine 1999: 577). This has further compounded the difficulty of finding suitable areas that can provide the necessary data to demonstrate the changes and local variations that have occurred. Thus, there has been a tendency to draw generalised conclusions for palaeobotanical changes across Dartmoor and include areas that have no evidence where the conclusions may not be applicable. Caseldine (1999: 577) comments on the lack of a chronological

framework for the Moor due to the few radiocarbon dates. Out of thirty-eight sites that have used pollen data only eleven have radiocarbon dates and some of them only have single dates (see Amesbury *et al* 2007, Fyfe *et al* 2008 for recent palaeoenvironmental and radiocarbon results).

2.3.1 Mesolithic Activity

Woodland cover is estimated to have extended over the whole of Dartmoor by the end of the Mesolithic, except for the highest tors and especially those with extensive clitter spreads. The maximum height at which the tree line stopped is thought to be 415m with this fringe zone having hazel (*Corylus*) and some oak (*Quercus*) (Caseldine & Maguire 1981, Caseldine & Hatton 1994). Moving into the woodland proper evidence from pollen samples leaves little doubt that oak (*Quercus*) was the dominant tree in the forest with hazel (*Corylus*) along with birch (*Betula*) and alder (*Alnus*) dominant in certain localised areas (Caseldine & Maguire 1981: 7 after Simmons 1964: 195). The types of plants under the tree canopy is uncertain but, willow (*Salix*), Ivy (*Hedera*), holly (*Iiex*), rowan (*Sorbus*) and elder (*Sambucus*) have all been recorded (Caseldine & Maguire 1994: 39). Evidence for the open and higher areas of the Moor, above the tree line, demonstrate a vegetation predominantly of grasses (*Gramineae*), sedges (*Cyperceae*) and heathers (*Ericaceae*) being the dominate plants. Within the higher elevations and where the conditions were favourable pine (*Pinus*), oak (*Quercus*) and alder (*Alnus*) would also have grown (Caseldine & Maguire 1981: 6), results from Shaugh Moor also provide the same evidence, (Beckett 1981). The sites of Wistmans Wood (420m) and Black Tor Copse (440m) are good examples of what an oak woodland might have looked like at these heights (see figure 2.9).

The impact of Mesolithic groups modifying the vegetation of Dartmoor has been demonstrated by the presence of charcoal in soil core samples and interpreted as an indicator of fire being used as a strategy for improving game availability at the ecotones between the upland woodland and open summit areas. This would also lower the tree line in places (Simmons 1969, Caseldine 1999). It has also been possible to distinguish between large scale use of fire and that used for small domestic fires. Caseldine's (1999: 578) high resolution examination of cores from Bellever (370m) has shown that it is possible to detect an almost continuous presence of Mesolithic communities below the tree line. The location and amount of charcoal present is seen to reflect domestic fires with no noticeable effect on the vegetation.

Figure 2.9. Wistmans Wood (420m) demonstrates the context of woodland on Dartmoor at high elevations (Photo by Wescott, www.myweb.tiscali.co.uk/andyspatch/wistmans.htm 13/05/2010).

2.3.2 Neolithic and Bronze Age Activity

The lack of palaeobotanical evidence on Dartmoor for the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age has led to this period being seen as something of a 'Black Hole' (Caseldine 1999: 579) and the lack of chronologically sound evidence has made it difficult to draw any conclusions, "the best information may come from inferences from what went before and what came after, what was the state of the landscape at the end of the Mesolithic, and what did early Bronze Age communities inherit" (Caseldine 1999: 580). Despite the speculation over whether the pollen evidence used is representative of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age environments, the evidence will still be used to provide an insight into the palaeoenvironmental conditions.

Simmons (1969) suggests that Mesolithic and Early Neolithic communities were practising similar exploitative ecological regimes and it was not until the Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age that increased modification of the vegetation occurred. Therefore, prior to this it is envisaged that communities were using fire at the fringes of the tree line and on open areas of the upland to improve grazing and so encourage animals into this area to be hunted. This activity is seen to have permanently altered areas that were especially close to the upland edge. At lower elevations there is a continuation during the Early Neolithic of small temporary clearings and the evidence

of fern/bracken (*Pteridium*) spores and plantains (*Plantago Lanceolota*) is suggestive of clearings within the woodland. No cereal pollen was found at the sites of Postbridge and Taw Head, and Simmons (1969) suggests that either agriculture was practised on the periphery and did not extend further up to the higher upland areas or, that small patches of cereal were grown at some distance from areas where peat was forming and so the pollen did not become incorporated into it. Studies from Shaugh Moor and the surrounding landscape have found similar evidence for small minor temporary clearings. Pollen samples provide evidence for oak, birch and hazel as the major constituents across this area in the southwest of Dartmoor. In the Shaugh Moor area the activity of clearing is only sparsely demonstrated by the occasional presence of weeds such as *Artemisia* which is a diverse genus of plants consisting of shrubs and herbs such as mugwort and wormwood and also ferns/brackens and plantains (Beckett 1981), similar to those found by Simmons (1969). The pollen evidence is representative of a pastoral economy within the area and possibly within the cleared areas of woodland. Caseldine (1981) has also noted changes to the woodland recession during the Neolithic in the West Okement Valley, north Dartmoor, (see Simmons and Beckett). From comparative studies elsewhere in the British Isles Simmons (1969) has suggested that the clearings were possibly open for approximately fifty years. Although this is very speculative it does provide the possibility that the clearings were open for perhaps two generations and so the activities that happened in the clearings would have been remembered by some of the community. It is reasonable to suggest that the Early Neolithic chambered tombs recorded at Butterdon Hill, Cuckoo Ball and Corringdon Ball and the nearby possible Early Neolithic Enclosure, all found in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area were constructed in areas that had been opened up by the communities using them.

Recent research from the Shovel Down Project focused on the palaeoenvironmental reconstruction of a localised landscape around Shovel Down, northeast Dartmoor. Evidence from pollen assemblages demonstrate a heterogeneous landscape with different landscape zones ranging from heathland developing shortly before 3630-3370 cal BC and a local woodland composed of oak and hazel with alder dominant on the wetter parts of the landscape (Fyfe *et al* 2008). The development of the heathland is not seen as a consequence of human activity. However, sporadic human impact indicators are noted by the presence of cereal type grains *Avenal Triticum* type (wheat) and *Hordeum* type (barley) (Fyfe *et al* 2008: 2257). This is mentioned to possibly indicate

Neolithic activity within the local area, though in a pollen sample from a lower level *Hordeum* grains were recorded, indicative of 'wild' grasses. Fire is not seen to have played any major role in the expansion of the heathland, although charcoal is recorded and may represent domestic fires on the upland fringes, or the sporadic burning of the high moorland (Fyfe *et al* 2008: 2258). This is recorded during the Neolithic at surrounding uplands in the Southwest Peninsula. With the establishment of the heathland species rich grassland represented across the Shovel Down area, this has been interpreted as a reflection of the gradual modification of the area due to grazing and occasional manuring (Fyfe *et al* 2008). A similar situation is found on other upland areas such as Bodmin Moor and the Cheviot Hills during the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. At Shovel Down however, the depths at which grassland is recorded, there is still woodland represented and supports the view of a continued heterogeneous landscape (Fyfe 2008: 2258). The data from Shovel Down demonstrates a varied vegetation over a localised area of the Moor with certain plants and trees exploiting different niches and providing Neolithic and Early Bronze Age communities a variety of opportunities. Although it is not possible to demonstrate the spatial patterning of vegetation from the data, as noted by the authors Fyfe *et al* (2008) it is likely that those areas with steeper sides may have retained woodland while the lower areas became more open.

At a number of sites the regeneration of the clearings and woodland has been recorded (Simmons 1969, Beckett 1981, and Fyfe *et al* 2008) and has been interpreted as implying the reduction in use of these areas, perhaps to encourage grazing. The regeneration has often been seen as a reduction in regional population or landscape abandonment. However, on Dartmoor the appearance of temporary clearings and then the regeneration of a number of them may represent the changing mobility patterns of the communities using them. It is generally accepted that groups/communities during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age were involved in transhumance and a large degree of movement, incorporating a wide range of resources during an annual cycle of movement over the landscape (Brűck 2000). The regeneration of woodland at Shovel Down and in particular in an area called Stonetor Brook in the latter part of the Early Bronze Age is most likely a reflection of reduced grazing. Instead of abandonment of the landscape, focus may have moved closer to the monuments and hut circle/settlements within the landscape. At Shovel Down and Shaugh Moor where plaeoenvironmental evidence exists and demonstrates areas of regeneration, it is

possible that activity moved away from these areas and became focused on the monuments and settlements. Stone rows, stone circles, and hut circle/settlements are all present at both of the sites and The Middle Plym with its associated monuments and settlements is approximately 4-5km from Shaugh Moor. The changes that occurred at both the above areas may well have occurred at Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley and The Middle Plym Valley.

Not all the clearings saw regeneration of woodland and may possibly have been used for agriculture. Excavation in the early 1960s of the Cholwichtown Stone Row (250mOD) -the only one to have been fully excavated- located at Lee Moor in the southwest of Dartmoor provides some tantalising, although tentative evidence. Simmons' (1964) soil pollen analysis was able to recover data from a sealed fossil soil profile in which he was able to determine a number of phases. He concluded that a clearing was made in an oak forest in which cereal was grown, then after a period of time the clearing became vegetated by heather and grasses with the surrounding vegetation being of alder and hazel (possibly scrubby) with some oak. Finally, within this clearing and environment the stone row was constructed (Simmons 1964: 37). This provides an interesting point at which to consider the introduction into the landscape of the stone rows, stone circles and some of the hut circles. During the Early Bronze Age much of the higher upland forest became cleared, especially the upland areas 400m +, and in some areas came the creation of bogs and the development of blanket peat. It is likely that the valley slopes and bottoms were still largely forested and it is perhaps in this environment that the monuments and some of the hut circles/settlements were constructed. Therefore, the Moor can be visualised as a patchwork of interconnected places/locales already with a long history for and attachment to communities within these areas. With much of the upland areas of the Moor cleared since the Late Mesolithic and continuing into the Neolithic, the tree line slowly descended from the more exposed higher areas. These were increasingly used for grazing from the Late Neolithic and through the Early Bronze Age. The lower areas of the Moor were still largely forested and the paths that moved through this forested landscape opened out into specific areas which became physically and permanently prescribed by the construction of monuments and dwellings. The high moorland was becoming increasingly used for grazing and so opening up, the construction of cairns on the dominate summits and ridges in areas during the Early Bronze Age further increased the

opening up of the landscape. However, the spatial and temporal impacts in which this happened are difficult to estimate.

With the construction of the reaves and associated field systems around the mid-second millennium BC, the landscape of Dartmoor was being used more intensively than it has ever been since, albeit for a short period of approximately 200-300 years. Pollen evidence demonstrates that there was no sudden or significant woodland reduction, either just before or during the time of their construction. Therefore, the landscape in which the reaves were located, especially at altitude, had become relatively open prior to their construction, and pollen assemblages from sub-reave contexts show an open environment.

The soils on which the reaves and field systems were built were significantly better than those of today (Caseldine & Hatton 1994, Caseldine 1999). Although acidic, the soils lacked any leaching, iron pans or peat, and evidence of worms and moles demonstrates an active soil fauna and one able to sustain trees and crops. There was most likely still a relatively high degree of variability in the landscape. The open upland areas above the reaves were used as pasture for grazing and were uniform in appearance, while the valley floors and lower slopes possibly varied considerably (Caseldine & Hatton 1994). This is an area that needs further research. However, one possible clue may come from the pollen records in the higher blanket peats, and is in contrast to the standard view of greater tree reduction across the Moor. Data from the high blanket peats demonstrates a persistence of arboreal pollen through-out the prehistoric period and represents species of oak, alder and hazel. It is seen as unlikely that this pollen is representative of lowland taxa, as this area was under pressure and had a wider spread of species (Caseldine & Hatton 1994: 44). The pollen recorded in the higher blanket peat most likely provides a general regional, but upland, record which was influenced considerably by the tree pollen sources at lower altitudes on Dartmoor and on valley sides not used for agriculture. The present day woodland of the Dart Valley is comparable to what may have existed then (see figure 2.10) (Caseldine & Hatton 1994, Caseldine 1999).

Human activity during the Late Bronze Age- Iron Age is suggested to have shifted from the uplands to the lowlands with a greater clearance of the woodlands in the lower areas (Simmons 1969). Austin *et al* (1980) suggests that lowland areas of the Moor would have been cultivated to some extent during the Iron Age. At the sites of Taw Head and Rattlebrook in northern Dartmoor the first signs of cereal pollen comes from

this period, however breaks in the pollen curves for bracken, plantains and other weeds suggest a possible reduction in human pressure on the landscape (Caseldine & Maguire 1981). Instead of viewing a moorland/woodland division, it may be profitable to consider a 'fluctuating tide line' where moorland and agriculture existed side by side. Stretches of ancient woodland would be interspersed with regenerating scrubland at times of decreased human pressure, similar to leaving areas fallow in modern farming techniques (Caseldine & Maguire 1981). On the southern areas of the Moor, pollen analysis shows a reduction in the maintenance of trees and scrubland indicating reduced human activity (Simmons 1969, Staines 1979), with scrub regeneration and possibly light woodland. The scale in which the reduction in human activity occurred is difficult to judge and may well have been highly variable in different areas. The whole sale abandonment is unlikely as evidence shows that although areas are used less intensively during this period, there are still grassland taxa represented in pollen assemblages and corophilious fungal spores represent the grazing of animals in areas still open but reduced in intensity. Radiocarbon dates from Shaugh Moor demonstrate occupation between 970-575 cal BC indicating that areas were still being used but possibly only over short periods (Balaam *et al* 1982, Caseldine & Hatton 1999, Caseldine 1999, Fyfe *et al* 2008). With the abandonment/reduction in use of the reaves, the landscape of Dartmoor that is seen today, at least above 200m OD, had emerged.

Figure 2.10. Present day tree cover in the Dart valley and possibly comparable to some of the lower altitude valleys during the mid-later second millennium BC www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk 13/05/2010).

Peat formation.

Evidence from the Somerset Levels indicates that by about 900 BCE the climate was changing towards cooler summers and wetter winters, a deterioration apparently complete by 400 cal BC. Simmons (1969: 211) concludes that by this time all the deeper hill peats were growing and that cotton-sedge dominated their 'make-up'. At a later stage in the climatic deterioration the upland bogs are seen to change in composition to mainly mosses of the genus *Sphagnum* and other peat forming plants, and would have reduced the available land for grazing. The peat blanket of Dartmoor comprises of both 'hill peats' that derives its water from the atmosphere and 'valley peats' that usually derive their water from local drainage. Environmentally peat has an important role to play as it retains water and helps prevent flooding of the valleys through its retention of large volumes of water. The factors that determine the initiation of peat growth are complex, both human and climate are factors that provided the mechanism for peat growth on Dartmoor. Simmons (1969) and Caseldine & Hatton (1994) contend that the highest fringes of the upland woodland were transformed to blanket peat during the Late Mesolithic and if not triggered by human activity, they certainly added to its formation around col sites and valley heads. By c.2900 cal BC the peat spread until c.500 cal BC when it covered the area that is seen today (Caseldine & Maguire 1981).

2.3.3 Historical Evidence

There is no evidence at present for the habitation of Dartmoor during Saxon times and environmental studies provide little data for any Romano-British activity. Historical records from the 11th century and environmental evidence together suggest increased activity on the Moor. Documents from 1201, 1305 and 1510 allowed tinners the rights to mine on the moor, and by the 13th century settlement started to encroach on to the Moor with an economy based on mining and animal husbandry (Simmons 2003). Low pollen values of medieval period suggest arable cultivation, and when allied with ploughmarks sealed under peat and lynchets a case for cultivation is strengthened (Caseldine & Maguire 1981). The high values of *Plantago lancelato* pollen and *Pteridium* spores suggest a predominant use of land for pastoral activity. However, cereals are low pollen producers and dispersers. Arable activity also tends to be in short periods, therefore making it difficult to detect such activity (Beckett 1981, Caseldine & Maguire 1981). Today grazing is still the major activity, and the right of common

pasture is an important right for 15 000 sheep, 33 000 cattle and 5450 ponies (Simmons 2003: 303). Tourism and afforestation form the bulk of the economic activity on Dartmoor today, with the army using 12.006 ha for training. The Moor continues to be an important source not just for the economy but also for people to enjoy and experience.

2.4 Possible Vegetation for both Study Areas

Drawing on the ecological data from the preceding section above I will briefly discuss the possible vegetation cover for both study areas. Present vegetation cover over both study areas is of a type common over the greater part of Dartmoor and probably originated during the Middle Bronze Age reaching its present state by the Early Iron Age (see figures 2.11 & 2.12). As mentioned, due to the difficulties faced by palaeoenvironmenal studies and the paucity of radiocarbon dates the outline presented here is one of inferring the sequences of changes that have occurred and it waits for future work to add to existing studies and provide a more detailed understanding.

Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley: Regarding both study areas there have been no investigations concerning the specific local character of vegetation cover. However, two locations across the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook area at Piles Hill and Cuckoo Ball had soil samples taken by S. J. Staines in 1979. Evidence suggests woodland at both areas during the Mesolithic and the possibility of anthropogenic activity at Piles Hill due to the presence of charcoal in the soil profile. However, evidence for the period of woodland clearance from Cuckoo Ball was inconclusive. With much of the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area below 415m OD, it is plausible to expect that much of the study area would have been tree covered in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, especially the Glaze Valley and the lower slopes of Ugbrough Beacon, Western Beacon and Butterdon Hill. The north of the study area being near to the cut off point of 415m OD and Three Barrows being well over there would have had much less vegetation cover and been very different from the tree covered valley and edges of the southern study area. If you consider the present tree cover in the Glaze Valley (see figure 2.9) it is perfectly plausible that it extended further west up the valley's edge and the woods that surround the edge of the Park's border demonstrate the possibility that tree cover extended much further up the sides of the hills. Following Caseldine and Hatton (1994) and Caseldine (1999) there was possibly a high degree of variability across the landscape and they have also suggested that evidence from the higher blanket peat

demonstrates a substantial amount of oak, alder and hazel, which is unlikely to have come from the lowland areas. Therefore, it is postulated that such pollen is representative of pollen from the lower Dartmoor valleys and areas where agriculture was not present. With much of the study area being between 250-350m OD it is well in range for extensive vegetation and linked to this the considerable lack of settlement associated with agriculture would further support the possibility that the study area was a patchwork of clearings within a wooded landscape.

Figure 2.11. The Glaze Brook Valley showing the present vegetation cover (By author).

Middle Plym Valley: Regarding the Middle Plym, this is an area with a higher elevation than that of the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley. The eastern side of the valley is higher than that of the western side, with the average elevation of the eastern part at 420m OD and above the cut off point for tree growth. The maximum height of 460m OD in the far south-east of the area is way above this mark. Much of the central and western side of the area is where a number of the settlements are located as well as along the valley at an elevation of 320-350m OD. Again it is difficult to say with any certainty what the vegetation was like, but the area in which Drizzlecombe is located although low down would most likely have been a clear area as suggested by the number of monuments and enclosures. It is possible that this is why the area became a

focal point for the surrounding valley. Although no samples have been recorded actually within the Middle Plym Valley itself, the close proximity to the sites around Shaugh Moor, that have been examined may provide a reliable outline of the vegetational changes. Shaugh Moor is approximately 4km as the crow flies to the northwest of the study area's western edge. The Shaugh Moor Project (1981, 1982, and 1983) undertook palaeoenvironmental studies both on-site at Shaugh Moor and off-site at locations within the surrounding landscape of the Middle Plym Valley at Wotter Common and Lee Moor, both within approximately 1.5 km of Shaugh Moor. The Lee Moor area is located on the western edge of the study area, with Wotter Common also located on the edge of the study area. As demonstrated at Shaugh Moor, which is only 4-5km to the west, and from pollen diagrams at Lee Moor on the area's western edge there is evidence for clearings associated with a pastoral economy and with regeneration. There have been similar results from Shovel Down. Therefore it is likely that the area may have been fairly open due to its height, but there may well have been pockets of woodland and trees as demonstrated by Wistman's Wood at 420m OD (see figure 2.9).

Figure 2.10. Showing the Middle Plym Valley and present vegetation cover (By author).

2.5 Concluding Remarks

Landscapes are always in a state of flux and change, although they may same static they are never in a state of stasis. It is this constant flux of change that the chapter and individual sections have aimed to highlight and to present the 'bones of the landscape as it is today' (Tilley 2008a). The section on geology aimed at providing a context in which Dartmoor's physical character has been shaped and to highlight the many characteristics and differences that occur within the granite and how these appear in the landscape. The geology and more specifically the granite is an omnipresent aspect that characterises Dartmoor and is a common theme in literature, pictorial representations of the Moor and of peoples' bodily and physical experiences. It is fundamental in how the Moor is inhabited, how people feel, think, and perceive the world of Dartmoor and embody these experiences. This is an aspect that is highlighted in chapter 5 where deep geological time is part of how the past is visually experienced and thought about and brought into the present.

Although it is the archaeology of the Bronze Age that forms the focus for the first aspect of the study, the outline of Mesolithic activity aimed at demonstrating how humans have been changing and influencing the vegetation on Dartmoor for a considerable time. Similarly, the lack of historical activity on the Moor demonstrates how Dartmoor was indeed a central and important landscape during the Bronze Age and in contrast to its present marginal and peripheral character. Due to the little vegetational change that has occurred on Dartmoor, the siting of the archaeological remains in many circumstances would have had the same visual fields in the Bronze Age as they have now, therefore providing a reliable avenue to study how vision, landscape and archaeological remains are aspects in the modes and ways people come to inhabited and embody the world in which they live.

Chapter 3

Dartmoor's Archaeology: Past Work

3.1 Approaches to the Study of Dartmoor

People's perception of Dartmoor's prehistoric activity focuses on the settlements and 'ritual' stone monuments. Antiquarians and archaeologists alike have been interested in the origin and use of them for well over two hundred years (Timms 1994). Stone rows were seen as sites of snake worship or Druidical processional routes along which sacred glass ships were moved in honour of the sun God. Double stone rows have been viewed as battle lines of two opposing armies or as posts for tethering cattle (Timms 1994). Whatever your personal thoughts on the use and origin of the stone monuments there is still a great deal of work to be done. Evidence from the Bronze Age settlements of Grimspound, Shaugh Moor and Holne Moor (settlements which have had extensive excavation) and the stone row at Cholwichtown are seen to have a preceding phase where timber was used, also, with the discovery in 2004 of a previously unknown stone row on Cut Hill which has been dated to the Early Neolithic (see Antiquity 84 Fyfe & Greeves 2010: 55-70), demonstrates the possibility of new discoveries to be found. The re-examination and re-interpretation of the prehistoric land divisions on the Moor by The Shovel Down Project (Brück, Johnston & Wickstead 2003, 2004, 2005) has demonstrated that there was possibly a more gradual process in the construction of field systems, instead of the generally accepted idea of a pre-planned and co-ordinated strategy of construction. Such studies show the need to continue investigations into the prehistoric remains of Dartmoor. Discoveries and investigations such as these continue to add a new dimension to the length of use and inception into the landscape of Dartmoor's Neolithic and Bronze Age remains.

The archaeological sites of the Moor attest to a landscape that has long been inhabited, similarly there has been a long tradition of its study on Dartmoor. The following chapter aims to provide the reader with an insight into the previous investigations on Dartmoor and the information this has provided on the prehistoric remains to be studied. It is not intended to be an exhaustive account of the history of Dartmoor's study. The following is an outline of the approaches to the investigation of Dartmoor's prehistoric archaeology, then a brief account of the monuments types found across Dartmoor, primarily Bronze Age in date. Following this there is a detailed account of the prehistoric monument types that are to be the focus of the study.

3.2 Excavation and Survey

Dartmoor has a long tradition of archaeological fieldwork, Timms (1994) notes that as early as the 1770s there is a study by William Chapple at Spinsters' Rock, a Neolithic Chambered Tomb near Drewsteignton in the north east of Dartmoor. However, much of this work focused on the ritual monuments of the Moor and had a strong bias towards Druidical interpretations (Timms 1994). This in turn had a lasting effect and as late as 1862 Dartmoor was termed "a natural Druid Temple – one great mass of logan stones and rock idols" by the President of the Archaeological Association. By the early nineteenth century there started to form a body of careful and planned fieldwork. Practitioners such as Thomas Northmore, who had excavated at Kent's Cavern in 1824, and Reverend James Holman Mason, together in the 1820s and 1830s are seen as to have initiated the investigation into Dartmoor's archaeology (Fleming 1988). In 1825, both Northmore and Mason investigated and correctly identified the 'reaves' as forming land boundaries and of being prehistoric in date (Fleming 1988, Timms 1994). A few years later in 1829 it was also Reverend Mason who employed a local surveyor named Shillibeer to accurately draw and survey the settlement of Grimspound, which Fleming (1988: 12) comments "arguably the first adequate plan of a prehistoric settlement site to be drawn in Britain".

With the founding of the Dartmoor Exploration Committee (DEC) in 1893 and the investigations at Grimspound in 1894 we see the first systematic and methodological excavations of Dartmoor's remains. The DEC were prolific excavators, Butler (1997) writes that 130 cairns, 338 roundhouses and 25 stone rows were excavated and recorded. Although some of the earlier reports are rather brief and the records vary in quality, they were punctual in ensuring the publication of their work and there are few sites where no report exists (Wickstead 2007). The work of Lady Aileen Fox during the 1950s set the scene for a new phase in the archaeological investigation of the Moor. The excavation literature was considerably different to that of the DEC where the brief reports were replaced with comprehensive excavation and site reports. Section drawings, site plans and specialist contributions of environmental analyses and finds reports (Wickstead 2007). Excavations in the 1970s and 1980s at Shaugh Moor (Fleming 1988, Smith et al. 1979, Smith et al. 1981, Wainwright & Smith 1980) were the first excavations to have a landscape perspective and focus on environmental work. The excavations of the 1970s and 1980s at Shaugh Moor, Holne Moor and Gold Park

(Gibson 1992) are important reports as they are among the few sites with absolute dates and there are no recent excavations that are comparable in size and have been published (Wickstead 2007). One exception to this is The Shovel Down Project. Although still to be published the project set out in 2003 to test through archaeological excavation and environmental fieldwork the widely accepted model of prehistoric land division on Dartmoor put forward by Andrew Fleming's (1988) work.

Over the last thirty years Dartmoor has been subjected to some of the most detailed survey in Britain, these surveys have shown Dartmoor in a broader view and not simply as individual prehistoric sites, but as a major archaeological landscape. Prior to this detailed work there had been aerial photographs recording of Dartmoor's archaeology. The earliest known aerial photographs recording Dartmoor's archaeological remains date to 1933 (although small and of poor quality) and in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 1952 Vol 18 there are two aerial photographs of archaeological remains from south west Dartmoor (Greeves 1985). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Professor J. K. St. Joseph took a number of aerial photos for Cambridge University and from the late 1970s there was a major expansion of aerial photographic recording of Dartmoor (Greeves 1985) and aerial reconnaissance has continued through-out the 1980s and 1990s (Griffith 1990, 1994). The observations made by Fleming that reaves were inter-related initiated the first region-wide mapping of Dartmoor, prior to this survey had largely been piecemeal (Wickstead 2007). The Royal Commission's 'Archaeology of Dartmoor' project transcribed aerial photographs of the whole of Dartmoor taken by the RAF soon after the Second World War, they have never been published but are available though the National Monuments Record (Wickstead 2007).

The most extensive ground survey has been carried out by English Heritage and Jeremy Butler. The surveys by English Heritage and previously as The Royal Commission have undertaken survey work on the historic buildings associated with the military on Dartmoor, large scale survey of the Moor's industrial archaeology and other landscape investigations published as grey literature. The five volumes 'Dartmoor Atlas of Antiquities' compiled by Jeremy Butler (Butler 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1994, 1997) are an extensive and detailed summary of Dartmoor's archaeology. The survey was initially compiled using aerial photographs and then ground surveyed. The survey has discovered many previously unrecorded sites such as stone rows, settlements and cairns. Butler divided the Moor into four areas; the north, the east, the south east and the south west. Each of the four volumes are dedicated to a specific area with sites recorded at

scales between 1: 1000 and 1: 5000 and field systems surveyed at 1: 4000. At the back of each one there are gazetteers of all the cairns, stone rows, stone circles and settlements. Where the first four volumes described the remains as they were when recorded by Butler, the fifth was an attempt to place them within a context of their use and how they may have been used using the evidence of the monuments themselves, and where available using the results or previous archaeological investigation (Butler 1997: 7). Undoubtedly one of the most influential landscape studies on Dartmoor is the work of Andrew Fleming, and culminating in the publication of '*The Dartmoor Reaves. Investigating Prehistoric Land Divisions*' (1988). Fleming's work has been particularly influential in understanding how Dartmoor was not only spatially divided in the Middle Bronze Age, but also the socio-economic systems in which they were produced during the Middle Bronze Age. Essentially, Fleming concludes that the reaves were laid out simultaneously in one 'Boundary Making Episode' (Fleming 1983, 1988) around 1300 BCE as part of a grand plan/idea (Fleming 1983). Fleming's recent revised interpretation of reave construction has stressed a greater longevity of territorialisation (Fleming 1994). Instead of the 'Boundary Making Episode' representing a single event, he argues that they emerge out of gradual land clearances and following Barnatt (1989) the construction of stone rows and stone circles in the Neolithic and Bronze Age represent an earlier and longer representation of territorialisation. Recently there has also been a reinterpretation of Fleming's earlier work on his conclusions of the synchronicity of reave construction (Wickstead 2007). Johnston (2005) has suggested, after new examination of the Shaugh Moor excavations and the recent excavations and studies of field systems at Shovel Down, north east Dartmoor, have demonstrated that the reaves have a long sequence of construction and suggesting a much more piecemeal approach over a longer period.

Neolithic

Long mounds and megalithic structures are associated with the Neolithic, and a few megalithic forms and associated long mounds have been slowly discovered on Dartmoor (see Turner 1990). At present there are six recorded chambered long cairns on the Moor. It is with caution that they are assigned to the 4th millennium BC, as on Dartmoor firmer evidence is needed (Quinnell 1994).

On Dartmoor the presence of potentially diagnostic artefacts is small from excavated cairns and barrows and it has been difficult to identify any multi-phase sequences (Quinnell 1994: 52). Grinsell (1978, from Quinnell 1994) has identified some 73 barrows and cairns over 20m in diameter, found in ridge positions and termed 'prestige cairns', which may possibly be Neolithic in date. Large round barrows and cairns have been associated with other Neolithic monument types such as henges, and as chronologically contemporary (Quinnell 1994: 52). Tor enclosures from Cornwall, such as Carn Brea, Helman Tor, Rough Tor and Stowes Pound have been assigned a Neolithic date and excavation at Carn Brea and Helman Tor has confirmed this. On Dartmoor, Whittor may represent some form of hill top enclosed cairnfield as most of the features -cairns and smaller cairns- are incorporated into the enclosure wall. The date at present is entirely open (Quinnell 1994).

Although generally stone rows are seen to be from the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age, the discovery of a previously undiscovered stone row on Dartmoor at Cut Hill, recently dated to the Early Neolithic, demonstrates that other possible remains from this period may well be present and possibly discovered underneath the peat. With this discovery has come the suggestion that stone rows recorded on Bodmin Moor, Cornwall, and with comparable features (stone height and spacing) may well be earlier than previously thought. However, it must be remembered that simply because the Cut Hill row has been dated to an earlier period, the other rows on Dartmoor may still be Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, and demonstrates the longevity in use of such a monument type.

Bronze Age

Stone rows on Dartmoor are formed either of single, double or triple lines of stone. Within the southwest, the areas of Bodmin Moor, Dartmoor and Exmoor all have stone rows but although in relative close proximity all have distinct regional characteristics in their form (Butler 1997). There are a possible seventy-six to eighty stone rows on Dartmoor, which includes a few no longer extant and the new discovery on Cut Hill (Butler 1997, Greeves 2004, Quinnell 1994: 54). Emmett's (1979) paper demonstrated that stone rows were built at separate phases and expresses their changing character over time and the fluidity in which these monuments should be seen. Comparisons have been made with cursus monuments, now shown to have their origin in the Mid-Neolithic. These comparisons have been made because of the movement that both

prescribe in the way of linearity through the landscape. Another similarity is the way that the terminal ends are sometimes blocked or impeded by cairns or standing stones and focused on certain topographic features (Harding 1999).

Stone circles are particularly well presented monuments in the southwest, with Burl (1976) and Barnatt (1989) both undertaking detailed classification studies. Burl assigns 39 sites on Dartmoor, Barnatt 44. Although they differ in the number of sites, both maintain a distinction between small groups of 'open circles' and larger circles often surrounding cairns at the end of stone rows. 18 radiocarbon dates from 8 circles unassociated with henges (outside of the southwest) fall into a broad band that calibrates between 2000 and 1300 cal BC. With dates such as these it is becoming accepted that stone circles belong to the 2nd millennium BC (Quinnell 1994: 56). As to their function the jury is still out, a fairly well established view is that they reflect social groupings (Fleming 1994) and meeting areas.

Grinsell (1978) and Turner's (1990) studies have significantly advanced the numbers and forms of cairns and barrows on Dartmoor. Turner (1990) distinguished the presence on Dartmoor of 'Ring Cairns' in a range of distinctive local forms (Quinnell 1994: 57). Grinsell distinguished 162 possible cists, of which 125 survived for orientation to be established. 115 had a broad SE-NW orientation, and 132 cairns were identified with kerbs or retaining circles. He also listed 16 cremations, none of which now survive, and 15 were tentatively distinguished as ring cairns (Quinnell 1994: 57). For much of Britain the major period for cairn/barrow construction is dated to the first part of the 2nd millennium. Sixteen dates from Devon and Cornwall show a marked concentration around 1800 cal BC, and 29 radiocarbon dates from sites in Cornwall give a range of c.2700-1400 cal BC (work by Christie 1988, from Quinnell 1994: 58). More dates are needed for Dartmoor, but the pattern for Cornwall may be regarded as applicable in a general scheme for Dartmoor (Quinnell 1994).

The extensive work by Fleming on the prehistoric land divisions on Dartmoor provided an in-depth look at how the landscape was structured from the Middle Bronze Age. A reave is a Devon dialect word which essentially can describe any overgrown wall, usually they can be shown or inferred to be prehistoric. Evidence from Shaugh Moor and Holne Moor in the form of radiocarbon dates has demonstrated that there was a pre-reave system of wooden fences and stakes dated to 1600-1700 cal BC and that the height of reave construction was for some 200-300 years after this date. There are different forms of reaves. 'Parallel' reaves conform to an axis of orientation that runs at

right angles to the contours. These end on ‘Terminal’ reaves comparable to head dykes in Scotland (Fleming 1984). ‘Single’ reaves run radially towards the central, higher zones of both the north and the south of the Moor and subdivide the land above the ‘Terminal’ reaves. Fleming defines the system as corresponding to a four tier socio-political organisation; the household, neighbourhood group, community, regional. Each functions to organise and maintain the field boundaries, and the social and productive units.

The above description of Dartmoor’s prehistoric monuments is a simplified account and does little justice to the detailed studies that have been carried out on the Moor. Following sections will illustrate some of the detailed investigations that have furthered the knowledge of the prehistoric monuments on Dartmoor. The many Bronze Age remains on Dartmoor demonstrate that it was a central and important landscape during this period, and its present peripheral and marginal character would not have been so pronounced. It is important to view Dartmoor in the context of its place within Devon as a whole, and work by Francis Griffith (1994) has shown how aerial surveys are furthering an understanding of the relationship between Dartmoor and Devon.

3.3 Dartmoor's Stone Rows and Stone Circles

The stone rows, stone circles, cairns and where still present menhirs or standing stones have attracted the attention and speculation of their origin and use from many scholars. Although the history of archaeological investigation on the Moor is of a relatively short duration compared to other areas of the country (Butler 1997: 15), the establishment of the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* and *The Dartmoor Exploration Committee* made the archaeological remains of the Moor known to the public, and set in motion archaeological research that continues today. The scope of this section is given over primarily to the stone rows of Dartmoor. This is due to no stone circles being within either study area but I feel it is necessary to highlight some of the issues regarding stone circle features on Dartmoor as demonstrated by Turner (1990). Several scholars and writers have focused on these enigmatic monuments, most notably Richard Hansford Worth and his farther R. N. Worth. However, for the purposes of this section the main sources of data are Emmett's (1979) article *Stone Rows: The Traditional View Reconsidered*, Turner's (1990) *Ring Cairns, Stone Circles and Related Monuments on Dartmoor*, Burl's (1993) *From Carnac to Callanish: The Prehistoric Stone Rows and Avenues of Britain, Ireland and Brittany* and Butler's five volume series *Dartmoor Atlas of Antiquities* (1991a 1991b, 1993, 1994, 1997). It is not the intention to dismiss prior work, indeed much of the studies undertaken by Richard Hansford Worth and his father form much of the data used by preceding studies on stone rows and the archaeology of Dartmoor. It is simply that the above referenced bodies of work provide, at present, the most up to date literature concerned with stone rows and stone circles.

3.3.1 Stone Rows

Stone rows are a monument type with many variations and regionally distinct characteristics. Their distribution is not confined to Dartmoor, stone rows have been recorded in Cornwall, Somerset and Cumbria for England. Wales, Northern Ireland and The Republic of Ireland, Scotland and Brittany all have recorded rows. Burl (1993) notes how within sixty miles of Minehead on the North Somerset coast, seven varieties of stone row can be found, ranging from a pair of standing stones, short rows, long single rows, double rows, tangential avenues, true avenues and multiple settings (see Burl 1993: 3-5 for a description of each type). Burl (1993: 5) provides a useful

classification for what a stone row is, "a stone row is a prehistoric linear setting of regularly spaced standing stones, closely set, uninterrupted by any other structure. It may lead to a cairn or stone circle but the standing stones alone are essential components of the row. Lines of round barrows or composite monuments of stones, cists and cairns cannot be accepted as stone rows".

During the last hundred years over a thousand rows have been identified and recorded in Britain, Ireland and Brittany. Burl (1993) has produced a chronology for stone rows in Britain and Ireland that places portals and avenues in the Late Neolithic, detached avenues, double long rows and single long rows in the Early Bronze age, 4-6 line stone rows and 3 line stone rows in the Middle Bronze Age, Pairs of stones in the Later Bronze Age (Burl 1993: 23). Within England, the greatest concentration of long lines occurs on Dartmoor, Exmoor and Cornwall. These three regions contain three quarters of all the long lines in England (Burl 1993: 24). On Dartmoor the rows, whether single or double, are associated with a cairn at the upper end and a tall terminal stone at the lower. On Exmoor rows never approach a megalithic ring, but instead mingle with geometrically designed rectangles and triangles (Burl 1993: 24). Within Cornwall around Land's End, there is the appearance of pairs of stones, almost the only area where such a type is found, and on Bodmin Moor where several stone rows have been recorded, the rows are not connected to any circles (Burl 1993: 24).

Provisionally stone rows are associated with the Early Bronze Age, and it is fairly certain that some stone rows were erected in cleared areas, possibly only pockets of clearings within a wider forested area, while stone circles on the higher moor were probably laid out in a totally treeless landscape similar to that of today. However, in 2004 a previously unrecorded row was discovered on Dartmoor and in 2010 samples taken from the peat below and above the fallen stones have provided a date for the row to the Early Neolithic (Fyfe & Greeves 2010). Also, on surveying the recumbent stones, some unusual features were recorded. Cut Hill is one the highest hills on Dartmoor (603m OD) and located in the heart of the northern moor. As a result of the row's location on Cut Hill it is a 100m above the previously recorded highest stone row, the spacing of the stones is much greater than other stone rows on the Moor, being between 19m and 34.5m apart (Fyfe & Greeves 2010: 60) and the relative large size of the stones is also an interesting factor, being between 1.53m and 2.6m in length, 0.5m to 1.2m in width and with an approximate thickness of 0.20m, (Fyfe & Greeves 2010: 60), giving them a thin slab like appearance and when standing their thinnest profile would have

been visible when looking along the axis of the row (Greeves 2004). The row consists of nine granite slabs so far recorded and spaced between 19m and 29.5m apart, with a length of 215m and aligned ENE/WSW (Greeves 2004), an orientation that Butler (1997) notes is followed by a large number of Dartmoor's rows. On the very highest point of Cut Hill and 58m WSW of the rows most south westerly stone there is a previously unrecorded barrow (Greeves 2004). This consists of an almost stone free mound 14m in diameter and approximately 1.5m in height.

On Dartmoor there are only two other stone rows that have comparable stones in height and length. One is called Stalldown Row, the other is Piles Hill Row and both are located in the south of the Moor. Stalldown Row has six large stones at the northern end of its row with heights of 1.9 to 2.6m above the ground surface and 12.5m apart and with a length of 502m and possibly extending another 340m beyond the present terminal stone as there are sixteen other flat or buried stones. (Butler 1993: 60). Butler also notes that towards the south western end of the row the height and spacing of the stones start to increase compared to the middle area (Butler 1993). The row is also sited in a prominent position affording views across the South Hams of Southern Devon and the southern area of Dartmoor. Piles Hill is a double stone row the second comparable row to Cut Hill. The height of its fallen stones average 1.6m in length, and Butler (1993) notes that twenty-six are over 2m in length. The row is in poor condition but the terminals may still be present giving an original length of 865m (Butler 1993: 63), with the stones set approximately 5.55m apart.

At present the Cut Hill row is unusual in its form and geographical location and it is worth considering that the rows at Stalldown and Piles Hill represent some comparisons. On Bodmin Moor, Cornwall there are stone rows that have some strong similarities to Cut Hill (Fyfe & Greeves 2010). Johnson and Rose (1994) divide the Cornish Rows into two main types: Short rows, with closely spaced small stones and similar to those on Dartmoor: and Long rows with larger stones and longer spacing. Three Cornish stone rows have stones between 1m and 1.6m above ground level and have relatively wide spacing between the stones, averaging between 10m–14m, although distances are not uniform (from Johnson & Rose 1994 in Fyfe & Greeves 2010: 68). If Cut Hill conforms to the Cornish Long row typology then possibly the rows of Nine Maidens, East Moor and Cardinham Moor may possibly be considerably earlier in date than presently suggested (Fyfe & Greeves 2010), and a revaluation of Stalldown and Piles Hill rows.

Many of the rows are ‘closed’ at the opposite end to where terminal cairns are recorded by either a terminal pillar or a slightly larger slab/stone set cross-ways as a blocking stone. At least thirty-one examples exist with a formal termination, with single rows having either a lower terminal slab or pillar aligned or at right angles to the row and multiple rows having much larger slabs set across the end of each row (Butler 1997: 226). A consistent feature is the orientation of the stones within the rows being set with their long axis in line with the row. Another common feature of the Dartmoor alignments whether single or double is the rise in height of stones towards each end. Sometimes this rise in stones is restricted to only the final ones, but there might be a graded increase in the heights leading up to them. At twenty-two well preserved rows this feature is noted (Butler 1997). A less consistent feature is stone spacing. Some are irregular throughout their length, but frequently there is a gradual decease in the intervals between the stones downhill from one end to the other, although this is hardly noticeable on the ground (Butler 1997: 235). The length of stone rows are diverse and show no uniformity, however, the width of avenues do seem to have much more uniform proportions. The majority, eighty percent are 1-2 m wide with an average of 1.5m (Butler 1997: 338). It was worth noting that roughly a third of all the rows or their associated cairns have been excavated to some extent. It was during the last decade of the nineteenth century where restoration was the motive for small excavations by the DEC. Such work was not usually recorded in any great detail and confined to mainly excavating the sockets of the stones before re-erection, The rows at Drizzlecombe are such an example (Butler 1997).

The origin and evolution of stone rows or avenues are seen as a development of the elaborated entrances of Lake District stone circles or the lines of timber posts leading to some Yorkshire Long Barrows (Burl 1993). Whatever their origin, for the seventy-six to eighty rows and avenues that are recorded on Dartmoor there is no real evidence of an evolutionary development, unless an increased number of rows is an expression of development and evolution (Butler 1997). If so, then the rows of Corringdon Ball 1 and Yellowmead would be at the end of stone row construction (Butler 1997: 210), having a possible number of seven and nine lines respectively. Similarly, multiple stone rows and circles may well be the expression of a specific location developing/evolving to fulfil a number of roles compared to others areas where elaboration is less.

'Avenue-Circles': Within the north-eastern corner of Dartmoor, the driest and most sheltered area, large free-standing stone circles have been erected (Buttern, Scorhill, Grey Weathers) which average 85ft in diameter and stand near rivers (Burl 1993). Along the western fringes of the Moor there are nine -possibly ten if Yellowmead is counted- little circles with avenues. They consist of a ring, avenue and a burial cairn within the circle. Burl (1993) comments that they appear to be a 'hybrid' of several traditions of monument construction related to the Bronze Age. One such custom was of erecting double lines of standing stones leading to megalithic rings. On average the width of the avenues is 5ft (1.5m) and were quite wide enough for people to pass along them up to the circle and its burial cairn. Shovel Down in the north-east of the Moor is isolated from the other 'avenue-circles' recorded on the Moor. The avenue of parallel lines are 596ft (182m) long and 3ft 6 (1m) wide, leading southwards up an easy slope to an unusual stone circle. The outer ring is c.28ft (8.7m) across and encloses three others; the innermost is 8ft (2.4m) in diameter. The multiple stone circle at Shovel Down is one of ten recorded on Dartmoor (Burl 1993: 51).

Double Rows: Consisting of two lines of standing stones adjacent to each other but not leading to an open circle or henge. They have a wide distribution over the moor and overlap with the 'avenue-circles' in the west, but a greater majority are found laid out in the south, south-east and even in the north-east (Burl 1993). Over sixty are known within England, and eighty-six per cent are on Dartmoor or Exmoor. On Dartmoor the rows vary in length from as little as 24ft (7m) at Penn Beacon SW up to 950 ft (290m) at Black Tor. On average the rows are 362ft (110m) in length and 4ft (1.2m) wide, although some are very narrow, no more than a 1ft (30cm) across (Burl 1993: 81).

Single Rows: Over 170 long rows (single and with seven or more stones) are known in Britain, Ireland and Brittany. They are concentrated in three major areas: south-west England and south-west Wales (39%), Northern Ireland (25%), and Brittany (23%). Dartmoor contains twenty-eight of the thirty-nine per cent and they account for almost four in ten of all known rows on Dartmoor (Burl 1993: 91). On average the single long rows on Dartmoor are 600ft, with Butterdon Hill and Upper Erme (Stall Moor-Green Hill) Rows measuring 1973m and 3320m respectively (Butler 1993). Nearly fifty lines are recorded on Dartmoor, they are less uniform than the double rows and less likely to be associated with stone circles, cairns and terminal stones (Burl 1993: 93). Sometimes

the row may point to a cairn but stop some distances from it, or if the row is joined to a circle as at Butterdon, it was not in line with its centre (Burl 1993). Such irregularities in their association with other monuments have led to the suggestion that the settings were monuments of several phases, rows added to circles, cairns, even to other rows (Burl 1993: 93). Three quarters of the single lines are in the south and west, with possible sites being laid out in the north-east at Arms Tor and West Mill Tor. Within the west, rows are shorter, longer and less straight than the double lines, with an average length of the double lines at 362ft (110m) compared to the 602ft (184m) average length of single lines (Burl 1993). Worth (1953), Emmett (1979), Burl (1993) and Butler (1997) all agree that any question of astronomical alignments for the single lines is unlikely due to some being "so wiggly that it is clear that no accurate orientation was intended" (Emmett 1979:98). Worth (1953: 242) writes that the geographical placement of the rows was the overriding factor that decided orientation.

Multiple Rows: The distribution of multiple rows is the most restricted of the megalithic lines. Only Dartmoor, Exmoor, northern Scotland and Brittany have them. Thirty-eight per cent of sites are in Scotland and Brittany, with the remaining twenty-four per cent in south-west England, and three quarters of them on Dartmoor (Burl 1993). Multiples were constructed primarily along the eastern edge of the Moor, the main concentration on Dartmoor of stone circles, avenues and double rows (Burl 1993:119). Average lengths of the multiples are 447ft (136m), contrasted with the 602ft (184m) average for single lines. Emmett (1979) proposed that multiple rows support the notion of multi-phase construction. He concluded that the double rows of stones were paired and erected opposite each other, but the variable spacing along the length of the multiple rows meant that the stones of constituent rows were out of step, thus supporting the case for multi-phase construction.

Location

Altitude: The stone rows range from roughly 200m to 500m above sea level, this being a common range for all types. Worth (1953) concluded that altitude had little influence on site choice, particularly as areas of the central moor between 200m and 500m have no rows, although now a row has been found at Cut Hill in the north at c.600m. The main altitude that the rows cluster at is between 300m and 400m around the peripheral areas

of granite (Emmett 1979). An interesting note is that rows in the same general areas have very similar altitudes even where a few kilometres apart, it may be that the altitude was indirectly important as a controlling factor of environment (Emmett 1979: 103).

Gradient: Rows are mainly sited on slopes of less that 10%, and this was seen by Worth to have been the determining factor for the siting of the rows (Emmett 1979). However, there is in fact a wide use, by all row types, of both level and sloping ground with some being on ground/slopes of a gradient of up to 20%. Thus gradient was one of only several factors that influenced siting (Emmett 1979: 103).

Topography: Single rows were built in a number of locations, while double rows usually adopted hillslopes or ledges. The lack of examples on hilltop plateaux and valley bottoms is remarkable, but may be due to burial beneath the peat (Emmett 1979). Single rows often incorporate hilltops as end points, double rows are commonly on slopes, and the double rows are generally higher than the single rows (Emmett 1979). This is most likely due to the concentration of double rows in the north-east where all rows are sited higher above sea level and underlining the importance of the altitude in the area not the hilltop or hillslope position (Emmett 1979: 103).

3.3.2 Stone Circles

The first attempt at a comprehensive description of Dartmoor barrows and stone circles was by Worth in 1953 where he drew material from the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* between 1892 and 1950 (Turner 1990). Grinsell (1978) carried extensive surveys of the barrows and cairns with some morphological analysis, both touched on the problem of identification and included the existence of ring cairns (Turner 1990). Turner's (1990) survey of the ring cairns and stone circles will form the basis of the data for a description of the above monuments. However where certain types are not found in either study area I have placed them in the Appendix A. The survey further subdivided a number of the circular features providing a fairly complex typological system. This indeed shows the complexity of this kind of monument and the fluid nature in which they were perhaps perceived and changed. However, we must be careful when assigning too many sub-groups to monuments as this places a modern perception of typing and classifying. Turner grouped the circular features into seven

categories; Stone rings, Embanked stone circles, Double kerb circles, Ring settings, Platform circles, Encircled cairns and Free standing stone circles. Below are outlines regarding Ring Settings, Platform Circles and Enclircled Cairns.

Ring Settings: The small orthostatic circles have no bank and surround distinct internal features, usually a cist but never a cairn. Some are multiple and roughly concentric, while in a small number of single ring settings the central area appears to have been lowered to subsoil level and in a few cases have been paved (Turner 1990: 42). Similar monuments are found throughout the British Isles, with many regional variations but are rarely classified as a separate category of 'ring cairn'. Worth excavated a group of three ring settings just above the junction of the Langcombe Brook and Deadman's Bottom. One cist contained three barbed-and-tanged flint arrowheads and fragments of a Bell Beaker, two other settings were paved and had charcoal in their interstices (Turner 1990: 46). Direct dating evidence for the ring cairns is limited to the radiocarbon dates from Shaugh Moor and the few finds discovered by excavation traditionally dated to the Beaker or Early Bronze Age.

Platform Circles: These are flat-topped cairns or mounds with a kerb. Some of the orthostats in the kerb rise above the top of the cairn, which is normally of the same height as the average of the kerb stones, and many contain cists (Turner 1990: 46). They have been considered and named as a separate category because their kerbstones are the most prominent features of the monument, emphasising the presence of an annular stone setting. Some platform circles have outer spaced orthostatic rings, and some have a central cairn or boulder on the top of the main platform (Turner 1990: 46). Similar monuments in the north and west Britain have been described as 'platform cairns', but as so many of the Dartmoor types have flat topped cairns without a kerb the term 'platform circle' is preferred (Turner 1990). The cairns have an average height of only 0.35m and an average diameter of just under 6m. Seventy per cent of platform circles contain either complete or remnant cists, all of the 20 smallest sites with diameters between 2.4m to 4.2m have cists. The distribution of both ring settings and platform circles are within the east, south and south-east of the Moor, over half of the platform circles are found in the south-west quarter along the banks of the Plym (Turner 1990: 48). Some monuments are located conspicuously in the landscape, platform circles appear to have been embellished within their local landscape by adding cairns or

boulders to their tops (Turner 1990). The only recorded finds are a stone wristguard from a cist on Chittaford Down, as well as three flint flakes, a scraper and a little charcoal from a central pit beneath a cairn from Drizzlecombe (Turner 1990: 48).

Encircled Cairns: This type of monument has a ring or rings or small orthostats enclosing, but not touching, a cairn or mound. Burl has loosely termed them as 'cairn-circles' (Burl 1976: 109). Sometimes they are found associated with stone rows. Most of the encircled cairns consist of a ring of small, spaced orthostats similar to but smaller than those in stone circles. They average 9.6m in diameter and are set concentrically around the cairns, with the distance between the cairn and ring varying between 0.25m and 2.75m; average cairn size is 6.5m in diameter and 0.5m high (Turner 1990: 48). Corn Ridge is the largest encircled cairn and lies on a summit with its cairn at 20m diameter and nearly 2m high, it is four times the average height. Its circle is 20m in diameter and is so far unparalleled in that it's small contiguous orthostats project from a low bank (Turner 1990: 48). Their distribution lies concentrated in the south-west quarter of the moor, with a small concentration around the south Teign. Only Fernworthy East has been excavated in 1877 by Baring-Gould who exposed an elongated central pit 1 x 2m in plan and 1m deep. From it came a long-necked or Southern traditional beaker, a lignite or jet V-perforated button, a Harlyn Phase bronze dagger, a flint knife and pottery fragments. A date of 2000 cal BC might be appropriate, although a similar site excavated at Farway may date later, perhaps towards 1500 cal BC (Turner 1990: 54).

3.4 The dead and the Living- Cairns and Settlements

3.4.1 Relation of Stone Rows and Cairns

Dartmoor has the largest number of stone rows than any part of Britain. With few exceptions they start from a cairn, with Butler (1997: 220) noting that of the seventy-six to eighty alignments, fifty-nine percent have a terminal cairn. More rows may have had terminal cairns, but due to stones being taken and used in the construction of walls as at Shovel Down many have been destroyed. The rows usually proceed downhill, with the size of stones decreasing as they move further away from the cairn (Grinsell 1978: 105). Whether the cairns represent construction after or before the stone row had been

initially built is still inconclusive. Worth notes that cairns are often formed with a retaining circle surrounding and enclosing the cairn, where the stones of the retaining circle unite with those of the row to form a single monument (Worth 1953: 227). No known row has a retaining circle at each end. One example in the Erme Valley, the Stall Moor and Green Hill row has a cairn at either end, but the retaining circle is sited in Stall Moor (Worth 1953: 227). Worth further noted that rarely are rows associated with a retaining circle of the 'closed random' type, that is to say the stones formed a closed circle, each touching its neighbour, the stones irregular in shape and setting (Worth 1953: 227). He further comments that all single retaining circles directly associated with rows are of the 'open' type, meaning the stones are set at intervals in the circumference with a clear space separating each from its neighbour (Worth 1953: 227).

Turner (1990) further demonstrated that rows are further associated with particular forms of ring cairn. As mentioned, some monument types are only found in isolation. Turner notes that 80% of encircled cairns are associated with a stone row (Turner 1990: 60). This view was also highlighted by Emmet (1979: 107) who recognised that the distribution patterns of these types of monuments were "undeniably similar". Many single rows are aligned to one side of the encircled cairn centre, with the largest stone of the circle immediately to one side of the junction (Turner 1990: 54). Such an observation has long been recognised, and in fact this form of off-setting applies to all monument types that have a row abutting it (Turner 1990). The majority of cairns, some eighty percent (Butler 1997: 250), which have alignments, are accompanied by other burial mounds. The number of cairns varies, with the Drizzlecombe rows having twenty-two clustered around them to seven sites having only a second cairn associated with the row.

Construction

Worth noted that throughout Devon both earth and composite cairns, those constructed of earth and stone, but kept separate, are numerous (Worth 1953: 165). On Dartmoor, Hamel Down provides a good example of a small central cairn in an earth barrow, where predominately over Dartmoor cairns are constructed out of stone. Grinsell (1978: 102) also comments how in the areas of Greena Ball the cairns of Lydford 35-37 appear to be mainly constructed of earth or turves. The primary explanation for the particular use of material is functional. Therefore, the cairns built

near rivers, such as Lydford 69-71, were constructed of stones gathered from the river bed. Although such functional explanations are by no means incorrect, cairn structure has been little investigated on Dartmoor and evidence from other areas suggests that barrows/cairns were carefully constructed. Indeed both Worth (1953) and Grinsell (1978) note that the cairns were not mere piles of stones haphazardly put together. Many were carefully constructed with tiers of layered slabs angled upwards towards the centre, some have pillared rings surrounding the interment pit, and the whole was occasionally finished with large horizontal facing slabs around the outside and battered inwards towards the top (Butler 1997: 160). Sites at Great Gnat's Head and Lower Hartor Tor and a demolished cairn on Peek Hill, illustrate the slabs of stone embedded at an angle encircling the central area. At Riddon Ridge S.E., Hurston Ridge and Holne Ridge 7, excavators like Burnard recorded the interior layering (Butler 1997).

A possible avenue of research may be to consider if there are any substantial colour or textual differences in the stones used in the layering. Perhaps stones from river beds used in cairn construction may have had some metaphorical meaning or association due to their difference in texture. Mary Ann Owoc (2002) re-evaluated the excavations of cairns on the St Austell granite and provided an innovative interpretation of the deliberate layering and the colours of the component material used in the cairn construction. She concluded that coloured elements of the natural landscape were employed as design elements within the cairns. For example, metaphorical bonds between the yellow clay and the sun appeared to have been made during the construction rituals at the cairns. This metaphorical bond was further enhanced by the funerary and ritual activities at the sites being timed around the movement of the sun at the solstice (Owoc 2002: 137). The above is an extremely simplified explanation of Mary Ann Owoc's work, but it highlights that cosmological schemes involving stone or earth, and their qualities or materiality would have included senses other than the visual, for example touch. Australian Aborigines will often pick up ancestral artefacts and rub them against their skin. This creates a connection with the past via a spiritual and bodily sensuous intimacy (see Tilley 1999, 2004 for detail on metaphor and materiality).

Location

As noted earlier, many of the large cairns or 'Prestige Cairns' (of 20m or more in diameter) are found on the summits of hills and would imply that they were built to

impress (Grinsell 1978, Worth 1981). In fact Grinsell (1978: 110) demonstrates that 44 cairns of 20m or more in diameter are located on summits, with 9 incorporating tors. If this arbitrary minimum of 20m were reduced to 15m in diameter then another 50 sites would come into this category, sited mainly on summits or hills. Turner's (1990) study of ring cairns and stone circles further emphasises a patterning and deliberate placement of circular monuments within the landscape. His study divided ring cairns and stone circles into seven separate groups, with some of them further divided into sub-groups. He noted that each form has a particular location within and across the topography of Dartmoor. The main concern for this section is the monument type called 'stone rings'. These are annular banks that may be made of earth, stone or a mixture of both, and which in the majority of cases contain no features in the area it encloses (Turner 1990). This group is further sub-divided into six sub-groups, the focus of which will be placed on stone rings that totally enclose a Tor or rock and those that enclose a segment of a Tor or rock (Turner 1990: 28). All these forms of sub-group are located in conspicuous positions, 92% on summits of hills, ridges or Tors (Turner 1990: 32). By encircling the Tors or rock outcrops, these areas were being emphasised and the builders ensured that these monuments were clearly obvious. All segmented stone rings that enclose a Tor or rock outcrop are found in the north of the Moor (Turner 1990: 37). Tilley (1995, 1996) has noted a similar phenomenon on Bodmin Moor where natural outcrops or Tors are enclosed by cairns. Sites such as Stowe's Pound and Rough Tor have outcrops enclosed by structures similar to that on Dartmoor and also have cairns constructed over Tors or outcrops within their vicinity. Tilley (1996) comments how the relationship between rocks and monuments are being deliberately emphasised in an open and overt manner. The appropriation of the Tors and controlling access to their embedded spirit powers and ancestral associations became part and parcel of social control (Tilley 1996: 172).

Turner's (1990) paper has been an extremely valuable piece of research. He demonstrates that there is a close relationship between monument and the topography, particular monuments are associated with particular areas of the Moor. For example, 'isolated circles' associated with no other monuments are carefully positioned with regard to their visibility, or lack of it, from different directions. Platform circles and ring settings are found in isolated areas of the southern and central areas of the Moor, especially along tributaries of the Plym and around the headwaters of the East Dart. Turner (1990: 60) notes that such areas may have been set aside for funerary activity. Other monuments, such as encircled cairns are associated with stone rows, there also

appears to be the pairing of monuments, at Lakehead a stone circle is paired with a ring setting, at Wigford Down a stone ring is paired with an embanked stone circle (Turner 1990: 64). Stone rings or embanked stone circles may have been transformed into cairns, indeed all 'ring cairns' could have been transformed and so open to manipulation and re-use as a different monument, perhaps lending a degree of ambiguity and 'openness' to their use and meaning.

3.4.2 Settlement

Robert Burnard and Sabine Baring-Gould undertook the first systematic excavations of the hut circles and settlements on Dartmoor in 1893, at the sites of Broadun and Broadun Ring. With the formation of the Dartmoor Exploration Committee (DEC) in 1894 several years of intensive fieldwork began, Worth notes it as "The Golden Age of Dartmoor Archaeology" (Butler 1997: 118). The first season of study focused on the site of Grimspound and over the following decade approximately four-fifths of excavations carried out across the moor were under the supervision of the DEC. At the start a huge number of hut circles were investigated and some restored, for example during 1895/6 forty-five huts and five cairns were excavated at half a dozen sites, and two stone rows were re-erected (Butler 1997: 118). However by their eighth season steam was running out and the care and attention of the earlier excavations in recording and publishing the results diminished to a few sentences describing the sites and finds.

By 1905 the DEC ceased excavation altogether with the publication of the Watern Oke settlement, the last in the series. By 1930, R. H. Worth and C. A. R. Radford resurrected the DEC by excavating at Rider's Ring and Fernworthy prior to the reservoir. However, there was no immediate resurgence and it was not until Lady Fox excavated Kes Tor and Brookhill Foot West in the fifties that an excavation was carried out. By the late seventies and early eighties excavations at Shaugh Moor (Wainwright *et al* 1979-1982) and Holne Moor (Fleming 1982) established that the hut circles had undergone several phases of reconstruction. At Shaugh Moor four out of the five huts had replaced earlier ones of stone, and that the site had been intermittently occupied for as long as a millennium (Wainwright, Fleming & Smith 1980).

Although no settlement sites are yet known from the Neolithic, pollen profiles from Taw Head, Wotter Common and the Postbridge District demonstrate Neolithic clearance for possible agricultural purposes around 3000 cal BC. Neolithic artefacts

have turned up from a number of sites. Near White Tor Fort polished stone axeheads have been found, leaf shaped arrowheads from Heatree, Wotter Common and Welstor Common. Flint scatters have also been recorded from a number of sites across the uplands. An interesting point is that where Neolithic flint scatters are found so too are Mesolithic and Bronze Age scatters indicating continued use within the same area. Flint may possibly have been brought into these specific areas over time and so for later generations they became the traditional locations for the production of stone tools. They may also have been part of a Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age 'taskscape', where the landscape and tasks undertaken were constituent parts in (re)establishing memories or stories of past ancestors and events, not merely functional areas where flint was available, but were embedded in the current of sociality (Ingold 2000: 195). The two-hilltop sites of White Tor Fort and Dewerstone Hill may represent less ephemeral evidence of a Neolithic presence. Similar, possibly contemporary hill top enclosures, are found at Rough Tor and Stowe's Pound on Bodmin Moor. At Rough Tor the presence of platforms or cleared areas similar to that recorded at Carn Brea have been interpreted as areas for dwellings.

From the Bronze Age a greater number of prehistoric remains are recorded. The time frame for their construction is estimated at the second millennium BC, with the ritual monuments being constructed towards the beginning of the period and the growth of settlements towards the middle centuries (Butler 1997: 67). There are essentially four types of settlement, those associated with major field systems, independent farmsteads, pounds and field networks.

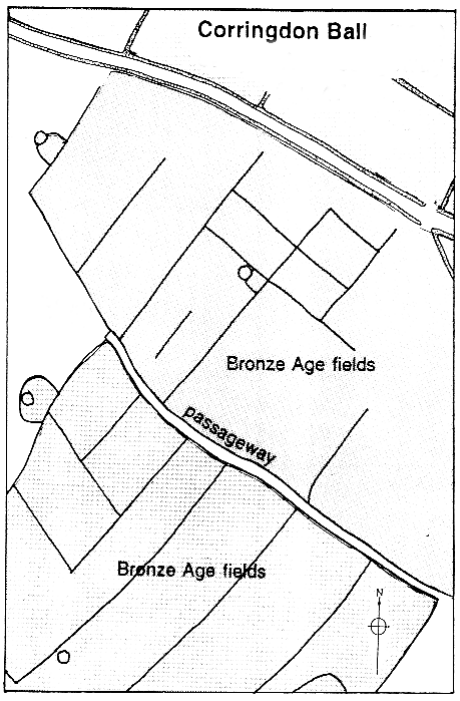


Figure 3.1. Part of a Major Field System (Butler 1997).

3.4.2. Major Field Systems

There exists some twenty-two major field systems or coaxial (see figure 3.1) field systems covering comparatively small areas enclosing less that two square kilometres, or large systems covering up to twenty square kilometres. Their overall pattern is a grid with strips of land

sharing a common alignment. Figure 3.1 demonstrates how the land was systematically divided into blocks, which were in-turn divided into smaller strips. The field systems may be centred on a single hut group, or they may also be multi-centred field systems where the strips of the neighbouring settlements all participate in a common alignment. A good example of a multi-centred field system is at Rippon Tor, where up to twenty-five independent hut groups are present and associated with their strip of land. This type of field system is seen as reflecting a period when population pressure was increasing and so greater control of land allotment was necessary. Field system boundaries were sharply defined by a reave, river or both. Once the boundary was decided, each community's land allocation and individual allotments agreed upon, construction of the walls at right angles to the boundary would commence (Butler 1997: 77). At least one supply of water was included, but the where pound-based settlements were focused around a river or stream the hut groups operating the field systems were primarily centred on the ridges in between so emphasising their claim to the whole area of land (Butler 1997: 80).

3.4.2. Independent Farmsteads

Located around the edges of the field systems but still included within their boundaries are areas undivided into strips and uncleared. These peripheral areas are marked by irregularly shaped enclosures with no fixed size or plan, often with smaller hut circles and still attached to a boundary or parallel reave (see figure 3.2) (Butler 1997). Moving further up the valleys on to higher ground, and away from the gridded systems of the lower elevations the independent farmsteads can be seen to perhaps have a more 'organic' and less systemised adaptation to the surrounding landscape. Many Independent Farmsteads are found intermingled with the pounds in the central valleys between the two Dart Rivers and on Chagford Common in the East of the Moor. Many are also found on the outskirts of the Field Systems. The farmsteads enclose a large area with only two or three hut circles per hectare. Typically a larger dwelling together with one or more smaller hut circles occupies a central position within the enclosures (Butler 1997). When expanding the existing fields and hut circles, the new fields systems and huts would be added around the periphery to form a rosette pattern (Butler 1997: 89).

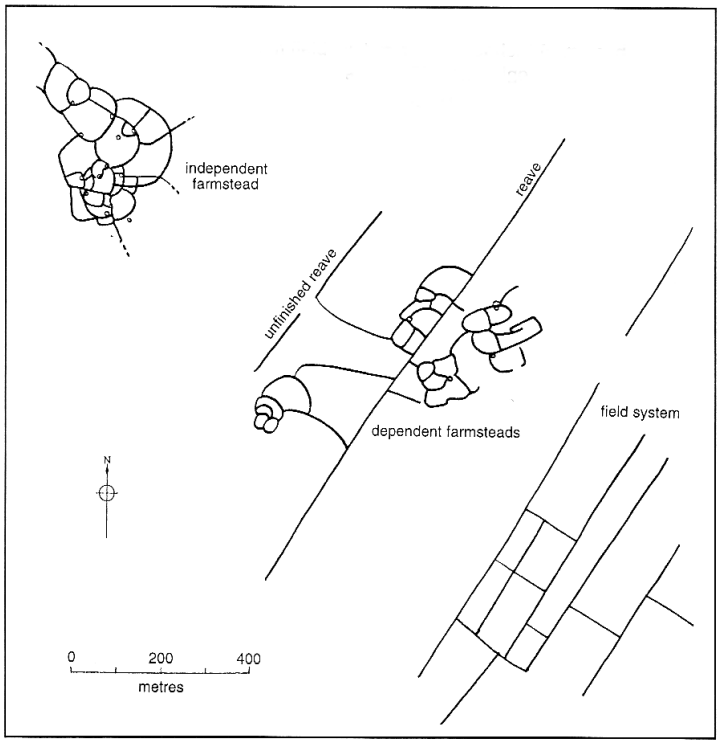


Figure 3.2. Demonstrates the evolution of Independent Farmsteads from major field Systems (Butler 1997).

3.4.2. Pounds

As a type of structure pounds may well have been in use for a long period and their functions may have changed over time. This form of settlement (see figure 3.3) is a completely different type compared to the independent farmstead and may have functioned economically different as well. Pounds share the same hill slopes with the independent farmsteads at the centre of the Moor, but there is a noticeable absence of them along the whole eastern border (Butler 1997: 92). Of the 250 pounds scattered over the Moor the largest numbers are in the southern valleys from the Avon to the Meavy occupying every suitable niche, while the northern valleys along with the eastern edge seem not to have been that desirable. Water appears to have been an important factor in a pounds location, especially a riverside frontage. A sheltered position seems less of a preference, although the exposed summits were avoided and there was a preference for south-west facing slopes (Butler 1997). Many of the pounds are located between the 250-400m contour with a large number located at 330m along the Walkham, Meavy and Erme Valleys. Where the wooded areas are absent from the streams and rivers edge the Pounds are sited close to the water source, where tracts of

woodland were denser the settlements are kept back from the water's edge. Pounds are constructed of a single circuit of granite walling roughly circular or oval, that encircles all the huts associated with the Pound. At some sites the 'finest' hut circle lies outside the surrounding wall and has been interpreted as the 'Headman's Dwelling' (Butler 1997: 98). Not all Pounds have entrances, at Grimspound the entrance is very substantial and although it has been restored the width and length are probably how they would have been originally. The site of Shaugh Moor had no entrance and so access was most likely via a wooden style or climbing over the wall. As fortifications against other communities they are badly sited, but the construction of an enclosing wall may have been a defence against wolves or bears (Butler 1997: 101).

3.4.2. Field Networks

Pounds and Field Networks may well be associated with a pastoral economy where communities spent the summer months on the higher elevations and then moved down to the lowlands during winter. Within these settlements the numerous closely spaced hut circles of small diameter are linked to their neighbour by a small wall (Butler 1997: 109). Similar to the independent farmsteads, a less rigid approach to construction and layout meant that an indefinite number of additions could be made and adapted to the higher elevations. Unlike in the Pounds where hut circles were free from any connection to the enclosing wall, in Field Networks huts were sited between the perimeter fences. Gradually interior walls appear and become numerous until an outer boundary became altogether unnecessary. Each individual dwelling was responsible for its own paddock (see figure 3.3).

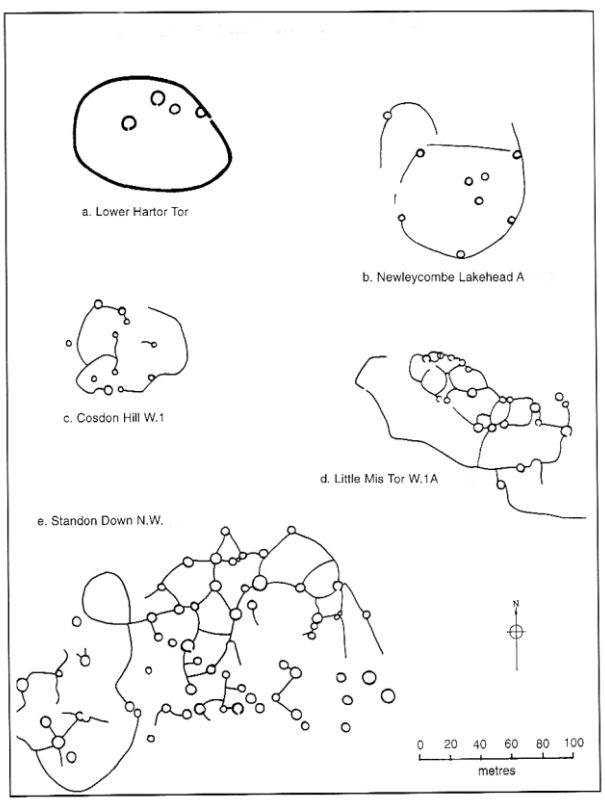


Figure 3.3. From Pound to Field Network (Butler 1997).

3.4.2. Hut Circles

Worth estimated that there were approximately 1500 hut circles on the Moor (Worth 1953), now it is estimated that there are at least 4000 (Butler 1997: 116) and some put the number at 5000. Their distribution however is not evenly spread. There are none in the central highlands of the north and south moors and only one example is known for the whole northern border from the Lyd to the Taw Rivers. Moving southwards the numbers increase around the southern valleys from the Erme to the Plym (Butler 1997). Of the huts that have certain traces of an original entrance only 6% open in a northerly direction, the majority of 57% face south-eastwards with the rest opening onto the south-west (Butler 1997: 116). From Shaugh Moor an early second millennium BC date is provided from radiocarbon results for the earliest phases of settlement (Wainwright & Smith 1980). Studies of pottery style from excavations of hut circles carried out in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century have demonstrated it to be Trevisker Ware and are considered to have been in use around 1700 cal BC (Johnston 2005 after Needham 1996, Parker-Pearson, cf. Radford 1952). It has also been suggested that some of the huts were converted into cairns or restructured to have the form of burial monuments (Butler 1997).

Johnston (2005: 11) notes that hut circles on Dartmoor are frequently in a primary relationship to and therefore earlier than the boundaries, either at the centre of a radial arrangement of small plots or incorporated into the course of the co-axial boundaries. He continues by commenting that this is not an argument for all buildings being of an earlier period than the field systems. Instead it is worth considering whether in some cases buildings were constructed before the boundaries, although whether over a matter of centuries or as part of the same period of occupation it is not possible to tell. As demonstrated above one form of relative dating to suggest that hut circles may have been in use at an early date comes from the recovery of Trevisker Ware. From the approximately 300 or more buildings excavated by local archaeologists and groups such as the Dartmoor Exploration Committee. Further evidence from Shaugh Moor recorded that prior to the construction of the roundhouses in stone there had been a preceding wooden phase and linked to this radio carbon dates for the same site associates the earliest phase of settlement to the early second millennium BC (Wainwright & Smith 1980).

3.4.3 Settlement on Dartmoor: Further Thoughts

On Dartmoor there are four different types of settlement pattern, all of which could well have coexisted. The construction of roundhouses and the associated co-axial field systems are seen as organising the land into a well defined, organised economic landscape of agricultural permanency. However, when looking at a distribution map of coaxial field systems across Dartmoor they are only found in any substantial concentration in the east and north-eastern areas of the Moor- outside these areas they are relatively small and separated from each other. If such field systems represent agriculture and an all year round presence on Dartmoor then only a relatively small number of communities were involved in agriculture. With the existence of other forms of settlement/enclosure another form economy may have been in existence. Within both study areas pounds are the only form of enclosure that are recorded- although at Corringdon Ball in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area there is evidence of co-axial fields but on a small scale, more may have been lost due to modern enclosure- and the pounds have been suggested to represent communities continuing a transhumance form of living (Butler 1997). It is not my intention to detail the evolution of settlement and land tenure on Dartmoor, as this is beyond the scope of the thesis and has been covered in considerable detail and analysis elsewhere (Fleming 1988, Johnston 2005, Wickstead 2007, Shovel Down Project 2003, 2004, 2005). The point I would like to make is that if Early Bronze Age communities were highly mobile and transhumance formed part of their economy, and seasonal movement was from the lowland areas to the upland, then it is probable that some of the roundhouses and pounds are representative of earlier 'domestic' structures on Dartmoor.

Due to a lack of radio carbon dating it is difficult to conclude when pounds were constructed. At present only Shaugh Moor Enclosure 15 has been radio carbon dated to around the middle of the second millennium BC and so just earlier than the start of the nearby field systems (Wainwright & Smith 1980). If the situation of Corringdon Ball is considered, it would appear that the pounds here were constructed earlier than the nearby field system and boundary reave. The course of the reave climbs up from the East Glaze in a north easterly direction and passes below the pounds and deliberately avoiding them. There is also a passageway running through the field systems leading up from the lowlands which the field walls butt up to, suggesting an earlier date for the passage and that transhumance was already established.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

The chapter has intended to set out and contextualise the past investigations of Dartmoor's Bronze Age archaeology. As highlighted, it is not an exhaustive account but the aim is to demonstrate how the phenomenological focus of the study is intended to add a new avenue of study in conjunction with previous approaches. The individual sections also familiarise the reader with the types of Bronze Age remains that exist on Dartmoor and that form the focus of the study. The number of Bronze Age remains on Dartmoor illustrates how it was a central and important landscape during this period.

The above paragraphs on the Bronze Age archaeology of the Moor highlights the possible longevity that some of structures may well have had on Dartmoor and that their inception into the landscape are fundamentally important in providing places where self and landscape are experienced, they are places and locales of inhabitation and dwelling. For example, the discovery of Cut Hill stone row and a radio carbon date placing its construction to the Early Neolithic illustrates not just when monuments were becoming part of the landscape, but that this particular form of monument and expression of permanency is a feature used over a long time and highlights the very fluid ways in which it was employed in providing a mode into which inhabitation became physically expressed. Similarly, the places in which the hut circles and pounds were constructed may well represent areas in which earlier groups or individuals stopped and so the construction of such structures is a further fixing and anchoring of attachment to specific areas. With an understanding of the types of Bronze Age remains on Dartmoor and past studies, the nest chapter presents the data sets of both study areas within an analysis of how they are part of the lived body's engagement with the landscape and embodiment of experiences. Using Ingold's (2000, 2007) idea of the 'wayfarer', I suggest that the movement involved within an individuals life is 'along' paths of travel in which the individual or wayfarer is continually on the move. Travelling is not just an activity of moving from one place to another, but is a way of 'being', as the wayfarer proceeds there is a constant active engagement with the world around them. The rows, cairns, enclosures and hut circles are part of an ongoing process of movement over the landscape, where life is lived and are the physical and permanent expression of past activities and memories in a fixed and specific locale.

Part II: Archaeological Methodology, Fieldwork Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 4

Methodology part 1

Archaeological Methodology, Fieldwork Analysis and Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

On Dartmoor there has been little consideration of the way anthropogenic and natural features are interrelated. The seminal work by Andrew Fleming, *The Dartmoor Reaves*, (1988) was the first large scale landscape survey and focused on prehistoric land divisions. However, as the focus of the study would suggest, the primary concern was how the landscape had been divided and used economically. Further studies related to the prehistoric remains have primarily focused on statistical facts concerning for example, stone row length or stone circle diameter. Within this literature the number and size of the stones has also come under scrutiny. Such work is part of a valuable body of literature that has enabled further ideas and interpretations of possible use and chronology. However, few have considered how monuments structure someone's perception and experience of the landscape. The sites of Grimspound, Shaugh Moor, Holne Moor and other smaller dwellings have been planned but no one has considered how they might relate firstly to the landscape and secondly to any of the monuments. This study will consider the monuments and settlements of two specific areas of southern Dartmoor as 'complexes' of inter-related places. Each place or monument may well provide different perceptions of the surrounding landscape and express different cosmologies and mythologies- different materials may have been employed in their construction and these may have some form of specific meaning. Together they make a physical presence and embody the experiences of place and link them with ideas of memory and mythological origin.

The focus of this chapter is to provide an outline of the survey approach employed in the study, results of the fieldwork carried out and their analysis/interpretation for each of the study areas: The Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley, The Middle Plym Valley. Although each area was studied separately there will be an overall comparative analysis. The aim of this is to demonstrate how the same type of monument was used in different ways in each area, and in turn was possibly influenced by the wider landscape. Also, the

aim is to demonstrate similarities in how certain aspects of the material world were used in the monuments' construction and location across both areas. There is a detailed topographical description of both areas including the types of monuments and settlements in each study area, and an interpretation of the archaeology. The areas outlined for the study were chosen due to the variety and number of archaeological remains. Whilst undertaking the fieldwork both areas were not considered in isolation and the monuments/settlements and landscape of the adjacent areas and across the southern part of Dartmoor were visited to gain a further comparative understanding of any differences and similarities. Although at times there were people who joined me some of the walks, all the recording was carried on my own.

4.1.1 Survey Method

The areas studied are both 10km squared in size and each one, Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley and the Middle Plym Valley is located in the southern part of Dartmoor. As mentioned the type of survey to be carried out would be micro-topographical, with the aim of placing each feature within its specific and wider context. The process involved, from the start, spending time walking each area to gain a comprehensive understanding and familiarity with the placement of the archaeological sites. It was important to visit them in different weather and light conditions, approaching them from different angles and gaining knowledge of the wider landscape. The survey method was 'low tech', pens, note pads and a camera. It involved visiting each site within the study areas and writing a description of its immediate topography, describing what archaeological features/sites -if any- were visible or sited near to the site, and what natural and archaeological features are visible/present in the immediate and the wider landscape. The aim was to build up a detailed descriptive record of the location and siting of the archaeological remains, as well as a deeper familiar understanding of the landscape and place of the remains within it. This could be used when out of the field and accompanied with photographs as the basis and primary evidence for analysis and interpretation. The important aspect is to have an intimate understanding of the landscape. To be familiar with its qualities and character, walking the landscape day in day out, at different times of the day and year would be extremely important for how I myself related to and felt about the landscape which I was studying. Closely related to

this was the need for a sound understanding of past vegetation and how the sites would have been located within it.

For the monuments and settlements there would be a particular set of methodological parameters. These are shown below;

Long Barrows

Despite a paucity of Neolithic monuments on Dartmoor. There are three long Barrows, dated to the Late Neolithic, sited within the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley Area. Although little is left in the way of their physical appearance, their locations and alignments can be discerned.

Focus of study;

- Their landscape setting- what is their immediate location? Are they aligned on any natural features?
- What are the contrasts in landscape setting between the long barrows and Bronze Age cairns?
- Are they referenced by any later remains?
- Are the Long Barrows visible from any of the later remains?

Stone Rows (See Appendix B for site plans and detail)

There are fourteen stone rows across both areas. Three rows are recorded in the Middle Plym Valley, two single rows and one that is single then double and becomes single again. There are eleven rows in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area, of which three are single rows, six double, one is part double and part single and one is a multiple row. The rows occupy different topographical locations, with different orientations and placements of terminal features. A twelfth row can be added to this area at Treeland Brake located on Brent Fore Hill but out of sight of those in the Glaze Brook Valley. The row was also orientated northeast-southwest as with the other rows in the Glaze Brook Valley. Unfortunately the row was destroyed in the late 1970s, and even at this time it had been heavily robbed. Only four medium sized stones existed with one in the distance that is thought belonged to the retaining circle of the cairn (Butler 1993: 96).

Focus of study;

- Do they cross any transitional areas or topographical features?
- What is their elevation and siting in the landscape?

- What are the qualities of the stones used- size, shape, colour, texture?
- What is their relation to other monuments or settlements?
- What is their relation to 'natural' features in the landscape?
- What sorts of visual fields are afforded?

Bronze Age Cairns

There are approximately 148 Cairns. Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley has ninety-one cairns distributed within sixteen clusters and one on its own. The Middle Plym Valley has forty-seven cairns distributed over six clusters and four individual cairns.

Focus of study;

- Where are the cairns sited in the landscape?
- Do the clusters of cairns differ in landscape setting from the individual cairns or those arranged linearly?
- Are the Cairns (clustered, linear arrangements, individual) nested within/around any specific features of the landscape?
- Do individual cairns within the clusters or linear arrangements occupy any specific locations that may draw in different nested characteristics?
- Are all the cairns, whether in clusters, individual or linear located in similar settings; are their visual fields the same?

Settlements

In total there are approximately fifty clusters of settlements across both areas, with the majority in the Middle Plym Valley. There are four clusters of settlements in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Area and five that are in their own individual setting. Among the Middle Plym there are six clusters of settlements and four individual within separate areas.

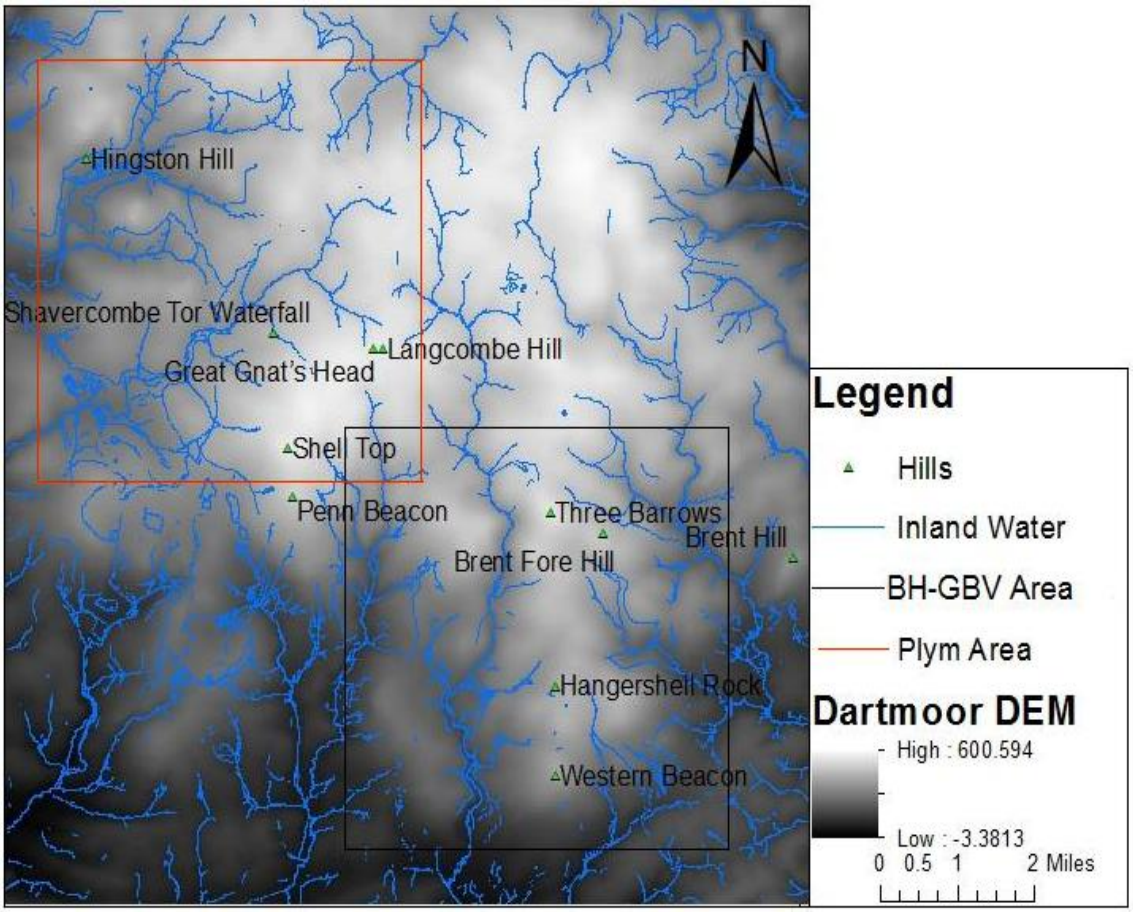
Focus of study;

- What is the role of natural features in their setting, i.e. use of clitter spreads, prominent landscape features such as a Tor?
- Where an entrance to a hut circle can be distinguished does it open out onto any distinct features in the landscape?
- What is their relation to other monuments or settlements?

4.2 Outlining the Study Areas

The following section will provide a topographic and archaeological description of each area and the types of archaeological remains with a brief description. Jeremy Butler's *Dartmoor Atlas of Antiquities* volumes for the southeast (1993) and southwest (1994) will provide detail relating to measurements and orientations and the names given to each site will follow Butler. The reason for this is that the volumes are a synthesised compilation of previous work and Butler's own studies, and so form a sound basis and are some the most recent surveys of the archaeology to be studied. My own observations will also be incorporated to provide an overview of the present condition of the archaeology.

Figure 4.1. Digital Elevation Model showing the location of major hills and features mentioned in the text.



4.2.1 The Topographic and Archaeological Context of The Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley Area

Located in the south-east of southern Dartmoor the area is situated between the parishes of Ugborough in the east and Harford in the west with the town of Ivybridge directly on the southern edge of the Moor. Topographically it is a peninsula of high land rounded in profile at the most southerly edge of Dartmoor National Park's border and surrounded by lower areas of land that are farmed, and in some places wooded. This lowland area is known as The South Hams and stretches from Dartmoor on its northern border down to the coast along its southern edge. The area was chosen for study due to the number and types of archaeological remains that cover the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Easy access to the whole study area and archaeology also made it a suitable area for investigation. The vegetation is typical of the Moor, being mainly heather, furze and bracken.

Walking the study area it became apparent that the topography naturally separates it into discrete and defined areas. For the purposes of the analysis I shall refer to these areas when mentioning names of features both archaeological and topographical. By dividing the area into smaller sections it will hopefully enable the reader with little knowledge of the area to gain a better insight into the character of the landscape. This is not meant to compartmentalise the landscape into areas or entities in which the prehistoric communities would have recognised or defined, but is simply a method to help demonstrate the data. For specific data and plans of the sites these are in Appendix B.

This whole area, compared to the north-eastern and north-western areas of southern Dartmoor is noticeably lacking in any major tors. However, they still form important focal areas for the surrounding archaeology (see figures 4.2 & 4.3). The only tor in the study area is Sharp Tor at an elevation of 414m OD, with Three Barrows the highest summit in the area at 464m OD. Within the southern part of the study area around Butterdon Hill there are two significant rock outcrops -Beacon Rocks on Ugbrough Beacon 378m OD and Hangershell 350m OD. There is another small outcrop on the western side of Ugborough which is visible from Butterdon Hill Chambered Cairn, this is Creber's Rock 340m OD. To the north of the study area stands Brent Fore Hill with its two summits -the highest at 408m OD and the second to the southeast at 378m OD with a number of small exposed rock outcrops along its summit and exposed clitter

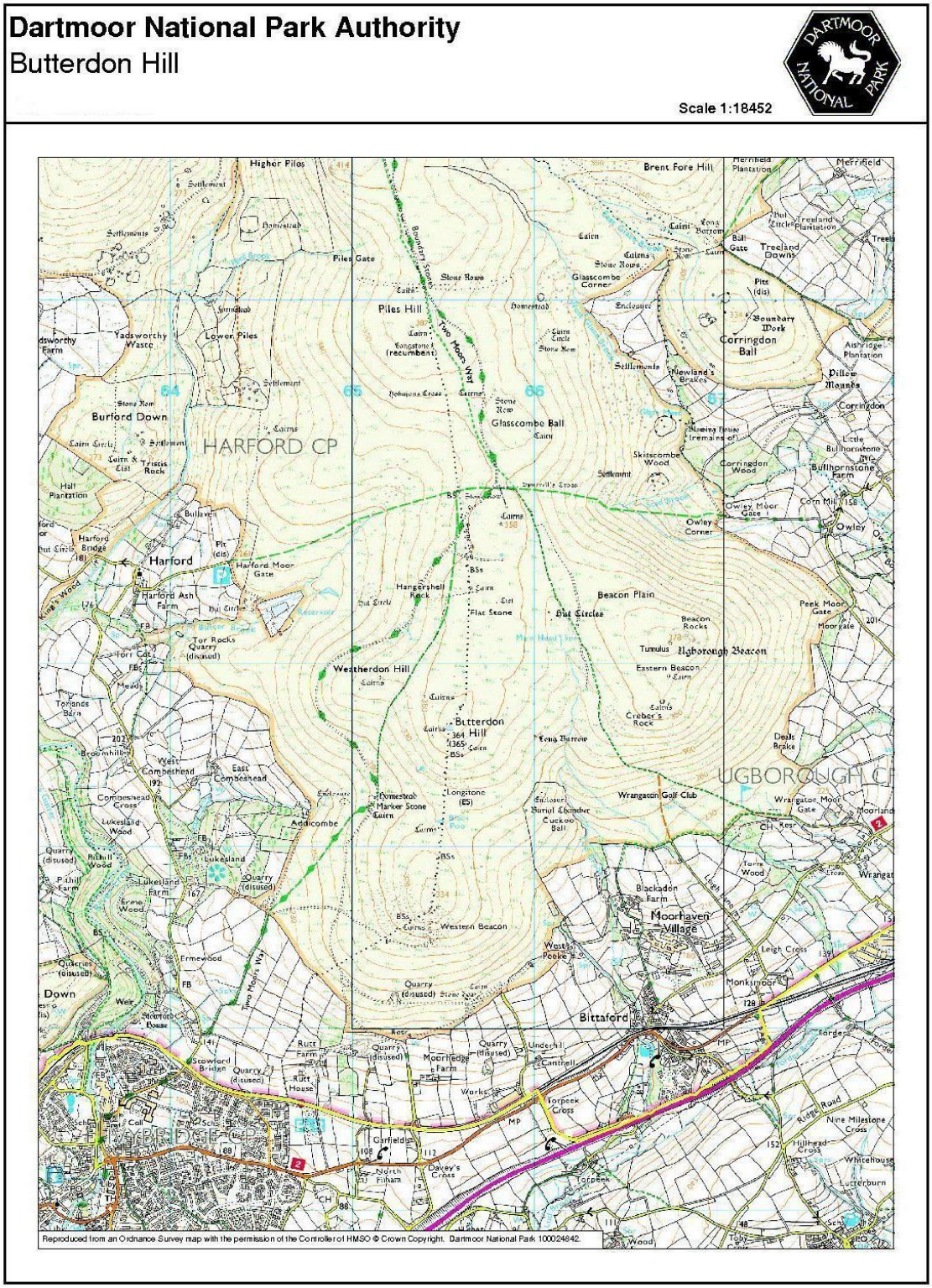
areas on its southern slope. Principally the area is a long ridge of land stretching for approximately 3km from Butterdon Hill 367m OD in the south to the edge of the study area to Sharp Tor 414m OD in the north. The tor itself, viewed form Butterdon Hill is not particularly distinct and has a low and flat profile. However, when viewed from the Erme Valley it forms an impressive and distinct topographical feature framing the east bank of the Upper Erme Valley (see figure 4.7).

NAME	Stone Rows Visible	Tors Visible	Settlements Visible	Cairns Visible
Ugborough Beacon	7	2	10	9
Hangershell Rocks	2	2	4	5
Sharp Tor	2	3	9	9

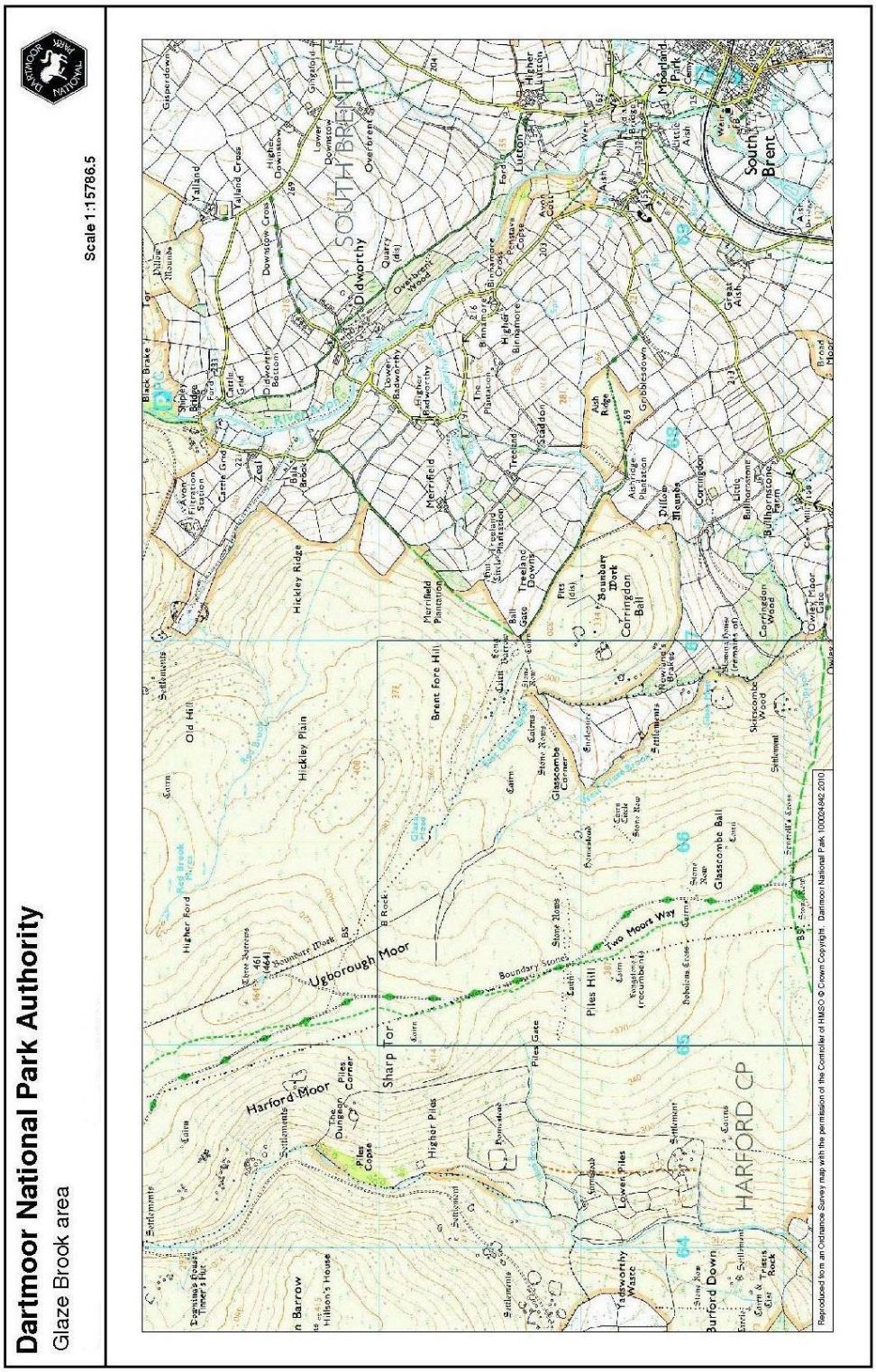
Figure 4.2. Showing the types and number of sites that are visible from the Tors and major rock out crops across the study area.

Figure 4.3. View from the south on Western Beacon to the north showing the profile of Sharp Tor and Three Barrows. Hangershell Rock is sited in the middle of the photo (By author).

Map 1. Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley Study Area. The black box shows the area to be studied (Ordnance Survey Explorer OL28 © Crown copyright 2010).



Map 2. Demonstrates the upper area of the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook study area. Black box shows the area to be studied (Ordnance Survey Explorer OL28 © Crown copyright 2010).



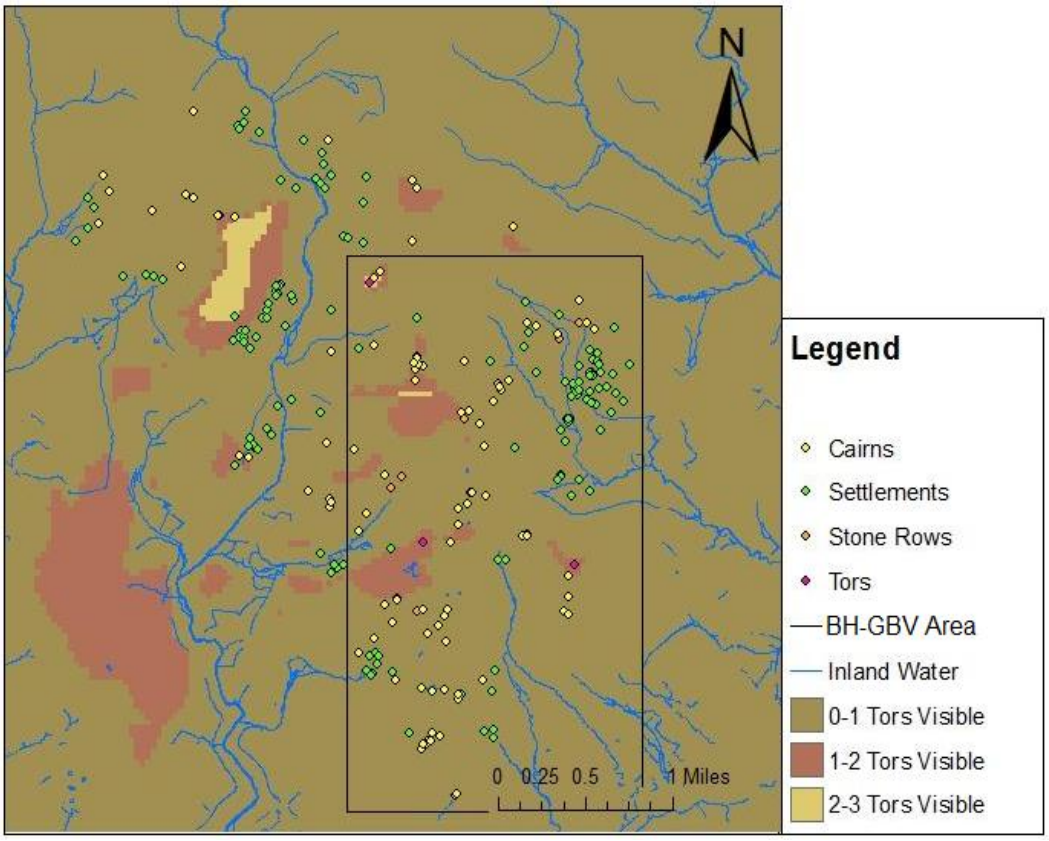
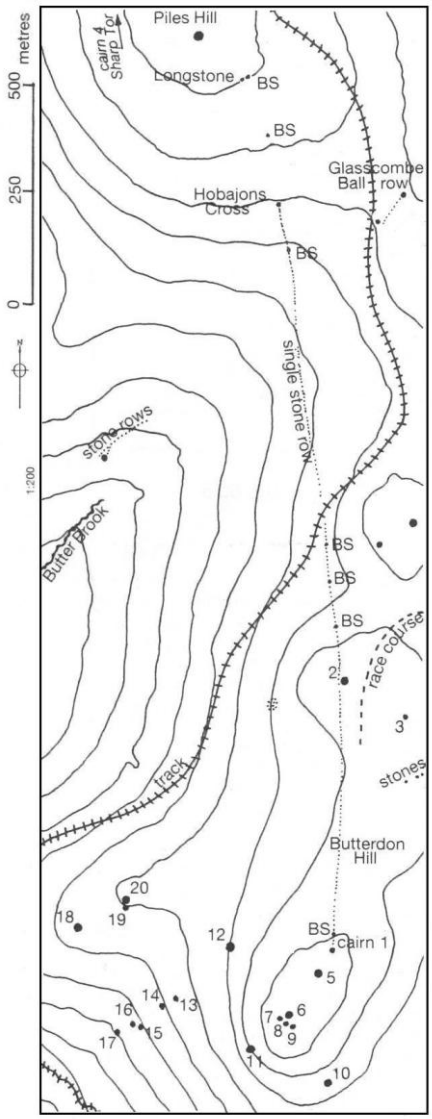


Figure 4.4. Diagram demonstrating how many tors are visible from the Bronze Age remains.

From Sharp Tor the ground rises very steeply up to the summit of Three Barrows to a height of 464m OD. The barrows sited on its summit are three of the largest on Dartmoor and provide its name. Within this area of Dartmoor Three Barrows forms the highest point and one of the most distinct topographical features blocking views north into the Moor (see figure 4.3).

Walking Butterdon Hill Ridge

Butterdon Hill and Spurrell's Cross rows: Located along the Butterdon ridge are the stone rows of Glasscombe Ball North (although this row is located on the ridge I have included it with the Glaze Valley rows due to its orientation), Spurrell's Cross and Butterdon Hill. Little survives of the first two alignments, but Butterdon Hill has a large amount of its stones still standing and its course running south-north along the ridge is an impressive sight, even with the relatively small stones used in its construction. Butterdon Hill row stretching south from Butterdon Hill and north to Piles Hill is the longest row in the study area and would have formed a very conspicuous 'line' along the Butterdon Ridge -unfortunately the long grass, heather and gorse obscures much of



it now. Over much of the row's course there are no changes in the topography in which the alignment is sited. From the terminal cairn it is approximately two thirds along its course before there is any change. Walking north from the terminal cairn there is a large cairn (no 2 Butler 1993: 24 see figure 4.5) on the horizon. The siting of the cairn, approximately 6m away to the west and almost touching the row gives the impression of the termination point of the row. However, as you get closer you realise the row continues out over the ridge and up Piles Hill.

Figure 4.5. Plan showing the sites spread across the Butterdon Ridge. Contours are at every 10m (After Butler 1993).

The cairn gives the idea of a "false end" (H. Wickstead per comm) and marks a major topographical change along the course of the row (see figure 4.6). See Appendix C for a detailed outline of walking the stone row and its topographic setting. The aim is also to demonstrate to the reader the importance in which writing is part of the process of a seeing and feeling body in a phenomenological study.

The terminal pillar has a triangular profile when viewed from the north and looking south, which itself looks out down the length of the ridge and onto Ugborough and Beacon Rocks to the east and the cairns at the end of the ridge are visible on the horizon (see figure 4.11). It is a very coarse grained granite and rough to touch, but its form is very rounded and almost fluid. This aspect of its form is particularly noticeable as you move around the stone and experience it from different angles (see figures 4.11 & 4.12).

Figure 4.6. Showing the course of Butterdon Hill row from cairn 2 and rising up to and terminating on Piles Hill (By author).

Figure 4.7. Terminal Menhir at the northern end of the Butterdon Hill Row (By author).

Figure 4.8. Terminal Menhir of Butterdon Hill Row demonstrating the change in profile as the body moves around the stone. Looking north (By author).

When standing at the southern end of Butterdon Hill and looking north there are a number of small localised summits of high areas along its course and each one is topped by a cairn. Moving south to north at 367m OD there is the summit cairn of Butterdon Hill (cairn 6 after Butler 1993), then at 358m OD there is the summit cairn of Spurell's Cross, Glas Barrow at 360m OD, Piles Hill at 387m OD and finally Sharp tor summit cairn at 414m OD (see figure 4.5). Both Glas Barrow and Spurrell's Cross summit cairns are sited on either side of a saddle that forms the Owley-Harford route way that crosses from the Glaze Valley in the east to the Butter Brook in the west and located approximately in the middle of the study area.

Spurrell's Cross: The location of Spurrell's Cross alignment is approximately 100m north and downhill from Spurrell's Cross summit cairn. Being sited downhill all views south are blocked by rising ground and views are to the north along the ridge, up to Three Barrows and Brent Fore Hill (see figure 4.10). Beyond Three Barrows the summit cairns of Knatta Barrow, Eastern Barrow and Western Barrow are visible over the eastern and western slopes of Three Barrows. Sharp Tor and its summit cairn, Piles Hill and its summit cairn (and Piles Hill row if still standing), plus the northern end of

Butterdon Hill row ascending up Piles Hill to its terminal pillar are all visible. Moving into the foreground, the summit cairn of Glas Barrow and a small cairn to the south of it are visible. To the north-east and east there are extensive views off the moor and over the South Hams with Brent Hill visible and the summit of Corringdon Ball. The cairn is sited in an 'open' setting, but the orientation and movement along the row takes you down into the saddle between the two summits of Spurrel's Cross and Glasscombe Ball, which is also part of the Owley Gate-Harford Moor Gate route way.

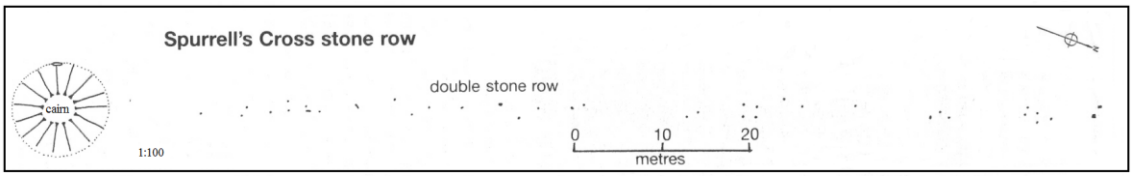


Figure 4.9. Plan of Spurrell's Cross (After Butler 1993).

Figure 4.10. (below) View north down Spurrell's Cross stone row into the Owley Gate-Harford Moor Gate route way. The background topographic is formed from left to right by Three Barrows and Brent Fore Hill (By author).

From the cairn the views to the north-east, east, south-east and north-west are the main focus, but as you move down and along the row the east becomes more of the focus and the views and features to the north-east, north and north-west fall away. Once you reach the northern end, the terminal point is at the bottom of the saddle and becomes ‘enclosed’ with only Glas Barrow and the small cairn visible. Everything north and south are blocked, Penn Beacon and Shell Top to the west are visible along the course of the saddle and the east continues to have extensive views with Brent Hill still visible. Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn are skylined on the horizon to the south-east (see figures 4.11 and 4.12).

Figure 4.11. Views out to the east from the northern end of Spurrell’s Cross stone row located at the bottom of the saddle between Glaze Valley (east) and Butter Brook (west). Brent Hill is a distinct feature to the left of photo (By author).

Figure 4.12. Views out to the south-east from the northern end of Spurrell's Cross stone row. Ugborough Tor Cairn and Beacon Rocks are visible on the horizon (By author).

Along the ridge's upper and northern area its western side descends steeply into Erme Valley through which the River Erme flows south off Dartmoor, via Ivybridge and meeting the sea at Mothercombe. The middle sections on the western side of the ridge slope gradually down into the Butter Brook. The eastern side of the ridge descends into the Glaze Brook Valley, gradually at first, then from approximately an elevation of 350m OD the land slopes away at a steeper gradient. On the south-western edge of Butterdon ridge is another ridge of land called Weatherdon Hill that stretches out to the west with two large cairns (18 & 29 after Butler 1993, see figure 4.5) sited along its summit is a third located further down its western slopes near to Addicombe. Approximately 250m from where Butterdon and Weatherdon Hill join is the rock stack of Hangershell Rock. This is the only rock outcrop along the course of the Butterdon ridge. Three standing stones are recorded to have been located in front of the rock stack to the east, now nothing is visible. The ridge of Weatherdon Hill at 340m OD and its western slope effectively separates the Addicombe and its enclosures from Butter Brook to the north and the topography of Piles Hill and Sharp Tor. At the southern tip of Butterdon Hill there are a number of cairns of which 5 and 6 (after Butler 1993, see figure 4.5) are the largest. On the southern edge of cairn 6 there are another three

possible cairns, these are very badly damaged. From both cairns 5 and 6 the whole of Butterdon ridge, Ugborough (which blocks views directly east) are visible. Although located near to each other, it is cairn 6 that 'brings in' all the surrounding topography in all directions. Cairn 5 has all views blocked to the south and as mentioned, to the east, and rising ground to the west obscures the features in the immediate vicinity with the distant views forming the primary focus.

Addicombe and Weatherdon Hill enclosures and cairns

Addicombe with its four enclosures and three cairns is located in the southwest of the study area. The coombe in which the enclosures are sited is relatively large and as mentioned the four enclosures are located actually in and at the head of the coombe, with two of the cairns sited on the southern slope of Weatherdon Hill and looking onto the coombe with the third cairn sited at the foot of Western Beacon's north-western side with views into the coombe. Although these are the only remains in this area there is an enclosure at East Coombeshead - however, very little survives. It is interesting to note that both sets of enclosures are sited near to or at the head of coombes and small water courses whose routes travel in a south-westerly direction to join the Erme valley, itself the main water course in this particular area. The shape of Addicombe forms a distinct 'fan' shape, with Enclosure B sited at the head of the brook and the coombe spreading out up the hill to the east with Enclosures C & D up on its northern bank and Enclosure A on the coombe's eastern edge. Moving up and out of the coombe there are two routes, one is a small coombe that forms the join between Butterdon and Weatherdon Hill which has five very small cairns located along its length (after Butler cairns 13-17, 1993 see figure 4.5) and a large cairn (after Butler, cairn 12, 1993 see figure 4.5) located at the head. The second route of movement out of the coombe is along a saddle that divides the southern end of Butterdon Hill with Western Beacon. Along the course of the saddle from east-west are eleven cairns all arranged in a linear arrangement (see figure 4.18 Butler 1993: 35). This saddle acts to join the two areas of Addicombe in the west with the Lud Brook in the east, with the middle cairn 10 (see figure 4.13 after Butler 1993) bringing in both the east and west landscapes. It is only from cairn 10 that this happens (see figures 4.14 & 4.15).

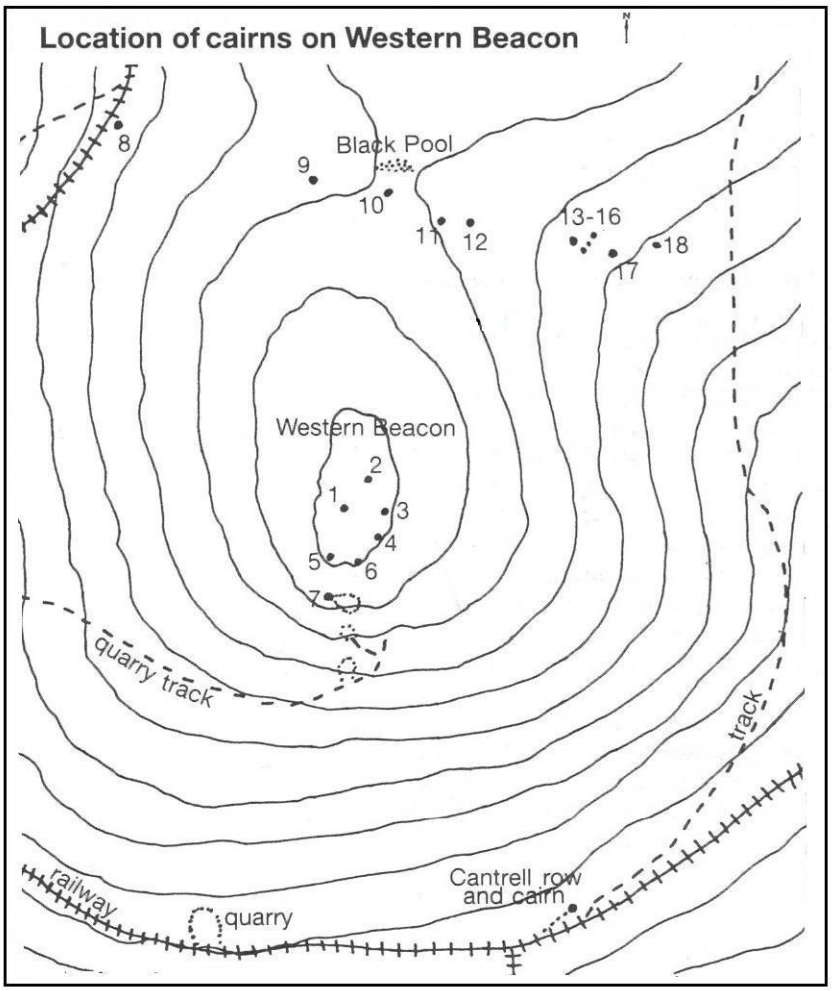


Figure 4.13. Plan of the cairns sited on Western Beacon and the saddle between Butterdon Hill and Western Beacon. Contours at every 10m. (After Butler 1993).

On an observational note, the location of the bronze age enclosure Addicombe A obstructs and blocks off the west end of the saddle so stopping any free movement up or down into Addicombe. Also, sited on the south-western edge of Butterdon Hill is cairn 11 (after Butler 1993) which overlooks the whole of the Addicombe area (see figure 4.16) and located on the opposite (eastern side) is cairn 10 (See figure 4.5 after Butler 1993). Both cairns are almost symmetrically located to one another on the southern tip of Butterdon Hill but are not intervisible. Both are tilted using the natural topography which further emphasises their ‘looking out’.

Figure 4.14. View east from cairn 10, located in the centre of the saddle. The ground drops down into the Lud Brook at the east end of the saddle (By author).

Figure 4.15. View to the east from cairn 10 in the centre of the saddle, the ground drops down into Addicombe at the end of the saddle's course (By author).

Figure 4.16. Showing views out from cairn 11 to the west and over Addicombe (By author).

Each cairn overlooks and brings in specific areas of the distant and immediate topography. Cairn 11 overlooks Addicombe and out to the west and southwest to Mothercombe, including the sea and Plymouth Sound, and the Erme Valley and onto West Devon and East Cornwall and around to the north-east up to Sharp Tor. Cairn 10 has views out to the south east and to the coast around Bantham where the Avon meets the sea and east over onto the Ugborough cairns and Beacon rocks and looks onto the cairns sited at the eastern side of the saddle. Both cairns have views focusing out to the areas in which they are tilted towards, but also both references the other cairn's views/areas for example, cairn 10 is focused out to the south-east but takes in the topography of the south-west, and cairn 11 is focused to the south-west but has views out to the south-east. Although both cairns have their own distinct areas of focus, they both reference the others areas, but are separate and individual monuments, with cairn 6 visible from both of them and acting as the central focal point for the area.

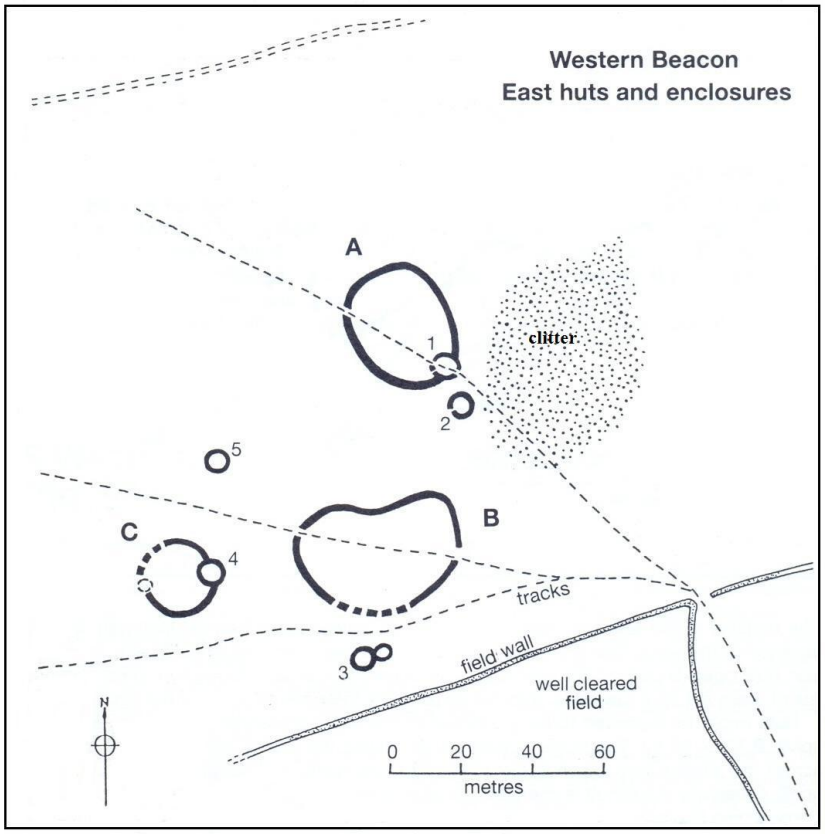
Topography and cairn location of Western Beacon and Ugborough Beacon

Moving east over the saddle and past the eleven cairns brings you into the south-eastern part of the study area, the Lud Brook. The Lud Brook is a small water course travelling in a north-south direction of the Moor. With its origin between Butterdon Ridge to the west and Ugborough Beacon to the east, its course divides the two areas. Within the Lud Book area there are two Neolithic Chambered Cairns, Cuckoo Ball and Butterdon Hill. The latter has a small Bronze Age cairn located approximately 5m to the south and is sited in a very localised landscape setting with primarily views out to the south and enclosed by the surrounding hills of Ugborough, Butterdon and Western Beacon. The long cairn is sited on an area of ground with a west-east slope, aligned north-south with its southern end, which is tapered and tilted down to the south, thus it also sits on a north-south slope cutting across the west-east slope. Cuckoo Ball essentially forms the far eastern edge of the saddle between Butterdon Hill and Western Beacon and the eleven cairns, all views out to the east are blocked although the cairns are visible from the tomb. Moving from the west to the east Cuckoo Ball would have been skylined on the horizon as you looked east and followed the linear arrangement of the cairns. The steep drop of the Lud Brook's western slope highlights this effect even though the present day enclosure wall blocks some the effect (see figure 4.17 of Cuckoo Ball).

Figure 4.17. Cuckoo Ball showing the background views out to the South Hams (By author).

There are extensive views out across the South Hams and South Devon to the east around to the south and down to the coast. Although the sea is not visible in this direction, the coast is visible all the way due south from Cuckoo Ball and it is due south where the sea is at its most prominent and visible. The Lower Glaze Brook Valley at the foot of Ugborough Beacon is visible as is Bantham/Bigbury where the Avon meets the sea. From the south (Bittaford/Moorhaven) the course of the Lud Brook is visible moving in a northerly direction on to the Moor and between Ugborough Beacon and Butterdon Hill. There are also six enclosures. Three are sited around but away from Cuckoo Ball -when viewed in plan from above they form a triangle around the tomb (see appendix B)- and three enclosures are located at the foot of Western Beacon on its eastern edge (see figure 4.18). These three enclosures are sited close to a large clitter spread, itself the only extensive area of exposed stone in the area. As with the Addicombe enclosures, both sets are close to one another -no more than a few hundred metres apart- and sited close to their respective end of the saddle.

Figure 4.18. Western Beacon East enclosures demonstrating proximity to the exposed surface stone (After Butler 1993).



From the Lud Brook area there are extensive views out to the east and south-east over the South Hams. The rounded dome of Ugborough Beacon forms a distinct topographical feature to the north-east and blocks all views in that direction and along the eastern side of Butterdon Hill. Both features form the northern side of the Lud Brook area. Ugborough Beacon is a very distinct feature, with steep sides on its north, east and south slopes. The hill stands out from the lowland area and the Tor sited on its northern edge forms a prominent and recognisable feature across much of the study area as a whole. Approximately 50m west from the Tor -also termed Beacon Rocks- another rock outcrop has been turned into a Tor Cairn and is the only one of its type in this area. As well as the Tor Cairn there are a further four cairns located on the plateaux of Ugborough Beacon with two located near to the head of the Lud Brook. All the cairns have extensive views off and onto the Moor, but it is cairn 5 and Beacon Rocks that have a particular significance (see figure 4.20). Located at the northern end of the Ugborough plateau and along with Beacon Rocks it is located on the highest area of ground on Ugborough Beacon. This is the only cairn on Ugborough that has a 360˚ panoramic visual field and many distinct topographic features. Immediately within the study area to the north-west is Sharp Tor where the ground drops sharply away down in to the Erme Valley. To the north Brent Fore Hill and its small rock outcrops are visible as are the clitter spreads at the bottom of Brent Fore Hill and along the beginning of the East Glaze. Moving south and away from Brent Fore Hill both the East and West Glaze brooks are clearly visible flowing south and clearly visible joining at Glaze Meet. Just outside the study area the Upper Avon Valley is visible to the north-east. Where the river leaves the Moor both sides of the valley are flanked by Black Tor on its western flank and Shipley Tor on its eastern flank, both are clearly visible. Immediately to the east of cairn 5 are Beacon Rocks and beyond this just outside the study area the whole of Brent Hill is visible. Looking out to the south-east and around to the south-west the dominant views are out across the South Hams and to the sea. While the South Hams has little distinct topographic features the Lower Erme Valley and its juncture with the sea at Mothercombe is clear and distinct. Where the land meets the sea forms the next distinct feature, especially where the mouths of the rivers open out into the sea -Dart, Avon, Erme, Plym, Yealm. Again the ‘V’ shaped saddle between the Western Beacon and Butterdon Hill recorded at cairns 1, 3 & 4 forms a distinct feature and frames the views to the south-west and the sea (see figure 4. 19). Beacon Rocks is a very distinct

topographic feature and is clearly visible on and off the Moor, especially from the South Hams.

Figure 4.19. Looking west from Ugborough Tor cairn showing the 'V' shape visual frame between Western Beacon (left) and Butterdon Hill (right) (By author).

Figure 4.20. Beacon Rocks, taken from Ugborough Tor Cairn (By author)

As mentioned, Western Beacon not only marks the furthest southern edge of the study area it is also the most southerly part of the National Park. Along with Ugborough Beacon, Western Beacon forms a distinct topographical feature in this area of Dartmoor. Separated from Butterdon Hill by the saddle, rounded in profile and topped by seven cairns with steep sides all around and standing over the lowlands to the south, Western Beacon has a very prominent character (see figure 4.13 for cairn location). Forming the western and south-western side of the Lud Brook area, it also blocks all views in those directions. On its lower southern side is the double stone row of Cantrell isolated from much of the other archaeological remains. To the east, approximately 150m are the remains of two enclosures. These have been badly damaged by the terminus of the Red Lake railway which took workers up to the China Clay Quarry further into the Moor and are not visible from the row. At only forty-eight metres the row is short and has no significant changes in the surrounding or immediate topography (see figure 4.21 plan of Cantrell alignment).

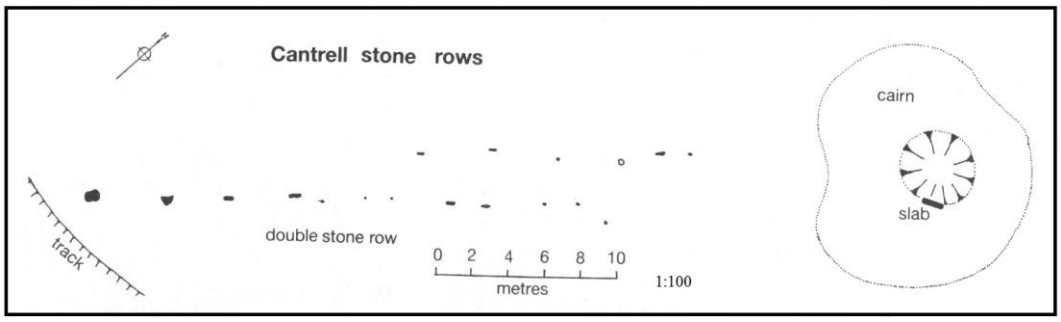


Figure 4.21. Plan of Cantrell double stone row (After Butler 1993).

Standing on the lower southern slope of Western Beacon there are extensive 180° panoramic views out across the whole of the South Hams with the distinct course of the Erme Valley heading south to Mothercombe and the sea, and the Lower Lud Brook Valley is also visible (see figure 4.22). Walking down the row to the south-west, at first I felt that such extensive views were an important element and particularly the orientation of the row to the south-west focused the attention of the body and the gaze out in that direction and onto Plymouth Sound where the sea is visible. This is even more emphasised by the lack of any views north, east, west and when walking back up the row nothing is visible to the north-west, everything focuses you to the lowlands. But, why place the row where it is, why not further down or upslope or to the west

along the slope? At 230m OD the location is way below the tree line and on a south facing slope this would have been a good growing environment.

Figure 4.22. View to the south and over the South Hams, the valley in the foreground is the lower area of the Lud Brook (By author).

With evidence of clearings appearing during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age and associated with transhumance or even a mixed economy, and with evidence from Cholwichtown demonstrating that the row had been erected in a clearing, it is possible that Cantrell row was constructed within a pre-existing clearing and the construction of the row and cairn became the anchoring of attachment and memory to that specific area. If, as it has been suggested that communities were highly mobile in the Early Bronze Age (Brűck 2000) then the row possibly represents the concretization or making permanent the course of a path that had been travelled and lived along. Cantrell row is also sited approximately 100m from a narrow lane that ascends from the lowland and onto the Moor. All along the edge of this part of the Moor there are a number of lanes onto which the present fields join and ascend up to the Moor's edge, this is present at Cantrell, Ugborough where Leigh Lane joins the edge of the Moor under the beacon and just to the east of the Lud Brook. This is also noticed at Owley Gate and significantly at Corringdon Ball Gate where the trackway terminates on the saddle where the

chambered cairn and Brent Fore Hill stone row are located. It has been suggested that the lanes have their origin in the prehistoric and represent avenues of movement from the lowlands up to the Moor (W. Scutt pers comm). At Corringdon Ball the Bronze Age field system travels up to join the route way and so would imply that the route way is older than the field system.

As mentioned, there are seven good sized cairns sited on the summit of Western Beacon. Cairn 1 is sited on the highest point but very little remains of this cairn. The majority of the cairns, 3-7 are sited on the summit's south-eastern edge with commanding views over all of the South Hams and down to the coast (see figure 4.13 after Butler 1993). Cairn 2 is sited to the north-east on the summit and although it has views out over the lowlands and to the coast it is the only cairn that looks into the Moor as opposed to out. All the cairns on Ugborough Beacon are visible and the cairn looks down onto Cuckoo Ball and Butterdon Hill chambered cairn and the cairns located on the eastern end of the Butterdon Hill-Western Beacon saddle (see figure 4.23). Cairns on Weatherdon Hill and the southern end of Butterdon Hill are visible as well. The immediate topography of cairns 3, 4, 6 slopes to the south and with the location on the brow of the Western Beacon's southern slope this exaggerates their profile, as if to show themselves off to the south (see figure 4.24).

Figure 4.23. View east from Cairn 2 Western Beacon, Ugborough forms the main topographic feature. The chambered tombs and cairns at the east end of the saddle are within the bracken (By author).

Figure 4.24. Looking up to cairns 6, 4, and 3 (left to right) on the southern edge of Western Beacon. Their siting close to the crest of the slope exaggerates their appearance and shows them out to the south (By author).

The Glaze Brook Valley rows, cairns and enclosures.

Moving around the eastern edge away from Western Beacon and the Lud Brook area over the top of Ugborough Beacon is the Glaze Valley (see figure 4.25). The Glaze Valley compared to the other areas has a much more defined topographical range and individual feel to it, and although only two and a half kilometres in length there are a number of features. The East and West Glaze Brooks flow in a south-easterly direction joining together after about 2km from their sources and then meeting the River Avon some 4km to the east, eventually flowing into the sea at Bantham. Ugborough Beacon forms the southern edge of the Glaze Valley and its steep rock covered north face forms a brooding feature. At the bottom of the Ugborough Beacon's north face are three enclosures sited at Owley Gate, two large and one very small. The Owley Gate enclosures are located on the eastern end of the Owley Gate-Harford Gate route way this is part of a fourteenth century approach road/track which runs from the edge of the Moor up and into the open Moor.

Figure 4.25. View from the top of Ugborough Beacon Tor Cairn over and into the Glaze Valley (repeated picture from chapter 2) (By author).

Of interest is Enclosure B, whose surrounding boundary wall was not completed as a whole circuit and ends on a large patch of clitter at the foot of Ugborough Beacon forming its southern end. The Owley Gate-Harford Moor Gate route way travels west from the Owley enclosures and ascends steeply between Ugborough and Butterdon Ridge to form the saddle that Spurrell's Cross and Glasscombe Ball summit cairns overlook. Along the above route is the Scad Brook that separates the enclosures at Owley and the single enclosure of Scad Brook, this is a small tributary of the River Glaze flowing east to join it. The east side of Butterdon Ridge forms the Glaze Valley's western edge and blocks all views to the west, further enhancing and focusing the topography and route of the River Glaze to the south-east. The ridge stretches all the way to Three Barrows, which itself joins Brent Fore Hill to the east and both areas form the north and north-eastern topography of the valley. With Brent Fore Hill curving round to the south it descends to form the Corringdon Ball saddle where Corringdon

Ball Chambered Cairn is sited and skylined from the east and west, before the ground ascends to form Corringdon Ball proper and the Valley's eastern edge (see figure 4.30).

The Glaze Brook Valley alignments: Within the valley there are four stone alignments, Brent Fore Hill, two at Corringdon Ball and Glasscombe Corner. All the alignments in the Glaze Valley have a north-east south-west orientation, and this is also why the Glasscombe Ball North alignment has been included in this topographic description. The location of Brent Fore Hill row has a direct link with natural elements, although not in quite such a confusing way as at Butter Brook single row. Brent Fore Hill is located on the north-eastern edge of the study area. On the southern end of Brent Fore Hill where it joins Corringdon Ball to form the saddle where the Chambered Cairn is sited and skylined, two other Bronze Age cairns one large are located close to the Chambered Cairn with the largest sited close to the end of the Corringdon Ball trackway and over-looking the topography to the east and the Avon Valley. The terminal cairn is approximately 30-40m to the north, and all the cairns form a line. From the row's terminal cairn all of the Corringdon Ball complex, two sets of alignments and five cairns are visible (see figure 4.26). There are also two cairns sited in the west bank of the East Glaze Brook and if the rectangular enclosure is from the Middle Neolithic it would also have been visible. To the north views are blocked by Brent Fore Hill which itself forms the topography in that direction. Out to the east and south-east the Avon Valley is visible with the distinct topographic feature of Brent Hill itself with prehistoric remains on its summit. Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn are clearly skylined on the horizon to the south and westwards the cairn overlooks the East Glaze Brook and onto the east slope of Butterdon Ridge, blocking views out of the valley in that direction. The orientation of the row directs movement into the Glaze Valley as a whole and more specifically within its immediate topography down into the East Glaze Brook and meeting with the brook. Whether the row actually met the water as is suggested and probable for the double row at Hartor in the Meavy Valley is unknown due to the damage caused by tinning, but it is highly probable that it did. The location and link with water fits well with the idea proposed by Brunsden (2005). She concludes that stone rows are paths constructed for the dead by the living to guide the ancestors to areas that are crucial for the survival of the living, specifically water. Indeed walking the row from the cairn into the brook there is a close association with water and one might indeed immerse themselves within the water, providing a physical as well metaphorical connection.

Figure 4.26. View west from Brent Fore Hill terminal cairn. The East Glaze Brook is located down slope with the Corringdon Ball Complex in the foreground. The background topography is formed by The Glaze Valley and Butterdon Hill ridge (By author).

The high topography surrounding the valley creates a sense of its own individuality as different from the other areas and within the valley there are another seven enclosures apart from the four already mentioned- a field system on Corringdon Ball, four stone rows, a group of hut circles constructed along the Upper East Glaze Brook, seventeen cairns and a possible Middle Neolithic Mortuary Enclosure (Butler 1997). The valley is a relatively enclosed area so affords good protection and an environment for woodland growth (see figure 4.26). In this area it is possible to suggest an environment similar to that at Shovel Down with a varied vegetation of plants and trees exploiting different niches. The Glaze Valley floor may have been cleared in areas for settlement and the western side of the valley wooded with the possibility of the woodland extending up onto Butterdon Ridge, although its exposure may have meant smaller trees and a more scrub based flora. As with Cantrell row, Glasscombe Corner seems like an unusual

location to site a row. Located on a relatively steep slope, its course has no topographic changes and again the significance of the landscape beyond the valley is minimal. From the terminal cairn views are restricted and localised, only to the south-east and along the course of the Glaze Valley are there any views out to the lowlands. Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn are a constant presence to the south with the other main topographic features of the valley forming the north- Three Barrows and Brent Fore Hill, eastwards Corringdon Ball and westwards the east side of Butterdon Ridge. When walking the row to its present terminal end, although the views do increase slightly it is still to the south-east that there is the greatest focus. Again it raises the question of why in this location? As mentioned there are no topographic changes along its course and although the south-east is the main focus, especially if walking down the row, I feel it is the row itself that is important and central to the experience. It would appear at first sight that the location of the row, as at Cantrell, is a fairly random one. However, if we envisage the possibility that the row was sited in a pre-existing clearing then its location makes sense. A similar hypothesis could well explain the siting of the Corringdon Ball alignments. The alignments at the Corringdon Ball Complex may have been constructed in an area that already had significance from the Neolithic. The multiple rows, single row and five cairns that make up the complex are located in an area that has the Chambered Cairn sited on the horizon to the north-east and at the end of the Corringdon Ball Gate route way (see figures 4.27 & 4.28) and the large rectangular feature, possibly a Mid-Neolithic funerary enclosure (Butler 1997) to the northwest, but not visible. Therefore, the area may well have been cleared for some time and held a prominent position for the communities who used it. Concentrating on the alignments, again over their course there are no topographic changes and as with the other rows at Cantrell and Glasscombe Corner they are not aligned on any distinguishing topographic features. Both sets of alignments are located with views down the course of the Glaze Valley and Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn are always in view. The east Glaze is audible but not visible and Brent Fore Hill row and its terminal cairn are visible on the opposite bank. To the north rising ground blocks all views, apart from the rocky outcrops that are located on the summit of Brent Fore Hill. The topography to the west is formed by the Butterdon Ridge and the west side of the Glaze Valley. From both terminal ends, from each of the alignments there are extensive views down the course of the Glaze Valley and over the lowlands to the coast. How much, if any, would have been hidden is not known, and certainly in its present state this area forms a prominent view framed by the

west face of Corringdon Ball and the east face of Ugborough Beacon (see figure 4.35). But, it is the north-east south-west orientation of the alignments that focus the body and the experience along their prescribed route.

Figure 4.27. Corringdon Ball Chambered Cairn on horizon. Taken from the Corringdon Complex. (By A. Crabb).

Figure 4.28. Demonstrating location of Corringdon Ball Chambered Cairn to the Corringdon Ball Gate route way. Suggested to be an Early Bronze Age route from the lowlands. (By A.Crabb) .

Figure 4.29. View south-east down the Glaze Valley from the present terminal (south-west end) of both Corringdon Ball alignments. (By author).

Although located on the summit of the Butterdon ridge Glasscombe Ball North can still be considered part of the Glaze Valley group due to its same orientation. Glasscombe Ball North is located in a very open location on top of Butterdon Ridge, and although along its course there are no significant topographical changes its location brings in features from both the east and west. The row acts as a transitional marker moving from one area to another. Northwards from the terminal cairn the hills of Three Barrows and Brent Fore Hill, Sharp Tor and Piles Hill with their respective summit cairns are all visible, as would be Piles Hill row if still standing. To the east, Corringdon Ball saddle and the associated archaeology are visible and Brent Hill with its distinct cone shape is visible and beyond the hills to the coast (see figure 4.27). Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn form a constant feature with the cairns of Butterdon Hill and Weatherdon Hill on the horizon. As you move along the row to the south-west, approximately halfway the topography changes, with views to the east dropping away and the south-west becomes topographically prominent (see figure 4.28). Although the

sea is visible from the terminal cairn to the north-east, as you move to the south-west it becomes much more prominent as does Plymouth Sound and the orientation of the row focuses on the Butter Brook Valley.

Figure 4.30. View and topography to the south and southeast. The distinct shape of Brent Hill is visible to the far left of the photo (By author).

Figure 4.31. Views out to the southwest down the Butter Brook and onto the coast (By author).

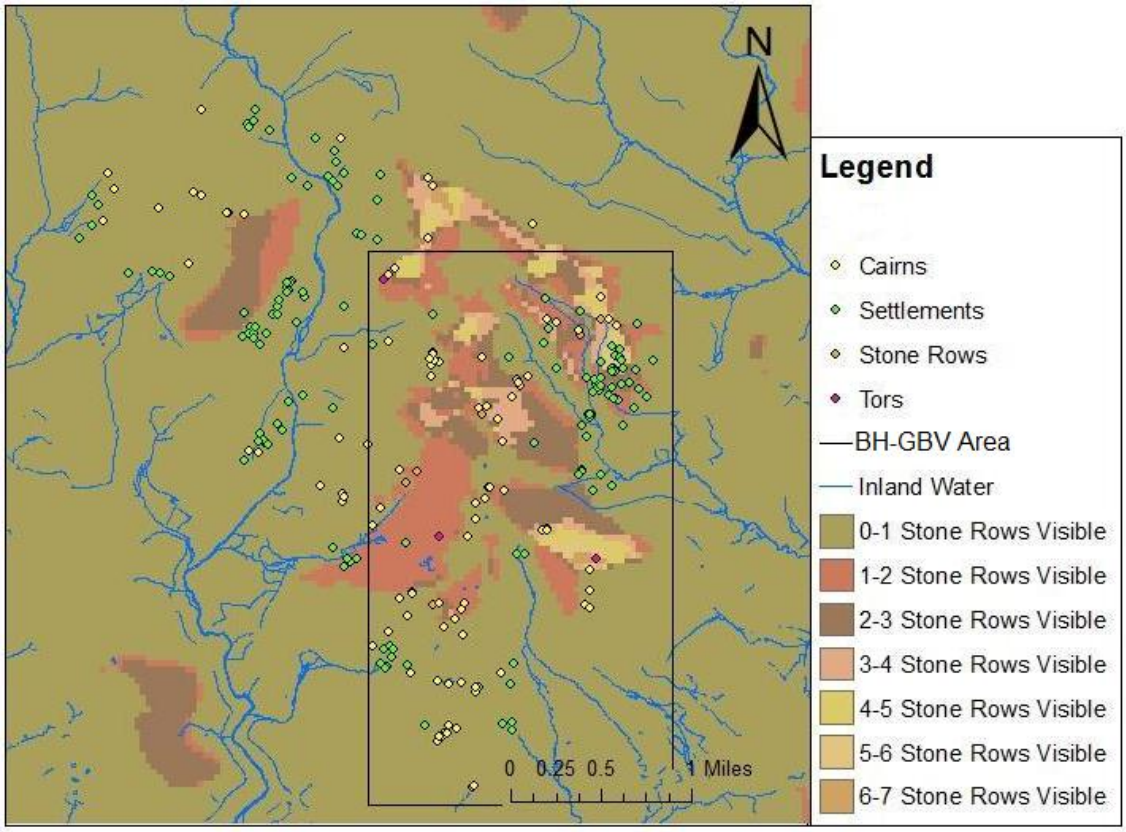


Figure 4.32. Diagram demonstrating the relationship between topography and stone row visibility.

Piles Hill topography, cairns and stone row

The final area of study is located to the north-west and takes in the areas of Piles Hill and Butter Brook. Sharp Tor forms the furthest north of the whole study area and along with Piles Hill forms the eastern bank of the middle area of the Erme Valley. Orientated east-west with its course crossing over Piles Hill is the double stone row named after the hill. Only a few stones are standing, but their sizes are some of the largest on Dartmoor and the largest across the whole area. Piles Hill stone row has some individual elements that make it very different from the other rows and help give it a character of its own. When first visiting and walking the row the most distinguishing feature is the way the row crosses from one valley to the other along its east-west orientation. The eastern side of the row appears to have been constructed in a coombe, although due to the vegetation it is difficult to be certain. Its eastern end starts a considerable distance down the eastern side of the Glaze Valley and actually is only approximately 200m from the start of West Glaze Brook. It is not known if the present eastern end is the original terminal although it does have the partial remains of a linear earthwork orientated approximately north-south across its end. From here the row ascends the valley reaching the top of the ridge

and descending into the Erme Valley. As with the eastern terminal, the row's western terminal ends approximately 100m from the start of the Erme Brook which flows west down into the River Erme. On plan both terminal ends are curved towards each respective water course. Along with physically connecting two valleys, the termination of each end being very close to two tributary water courses, themselves joining and forming larger rivers suggests that not only is the row acting to connect the two valleys, but also two water courses whose route takes them through the lowland areas of the South Hams and onto the sea. This further emphasises the fluidity, movement and connection which stone rows characterise within a local area, but also to areas further off the Moor itself. The size of the stone used in its construction are also of megalithic proportion being on average 1.6m in length, some over two metres and pillar shaped **(**see figures 4.33 & 4.34). Many of the stones have a characteristic shape, being convex on opposing sides. Woolner & Woolner (1991: 147) have suggested that due to this type of weathering these stones were most probably brought from Sharp Tor which is about half mile away to the north and where the granite weathers out in this form. Such a hypothesis is extremely interesting as it would suggest that the stone and tor itself possibly held significance for those who built the stone row. Also the distance between the rows is fifteen metres in the east and widening to nineteen metres at the western terminal. When standing the stones would have had the effect of fanning out as you moved from the east to the west and widening the visual field to the west and what was framed by the western terminal end. These two features alone stand out amongst not just the rows in the study area, but over the whole of Dartmoor, with the recent Middle Neolithic date for the Cut Hill row and with its megalithic sized stones it has been suggested that Piles Hill and Stalldown Stone Row, another alignment with substantially sized stones and sited on the summit of Stalldown on the opposite side of the Erme Valley from Piles Hill, may well be Neolithic in origin. There are no cairns associated with either terminal end, the only cairns near the row are sited on the crest of the ridge and the nearest is approximately fifteen metres south of the alignment. If the cairns are later (which is generally accepted) then the row would surely have been known, possibly still standing, and the cairns would be referencing the row and its continued significance. Piles Hill summit cairn is located approximately 80m to the south and affords good views out to the west, south and east. Northwards, Sharp Tor and the east face of Stalldown frame the Upper Erme Valley, although very little is

visible of the course of the river Erme with Three Barrows blocking views into the Moor.

Figures 4.33 & 4.34. Both photos demonstrate the shape and form of the stones used in the Piles Hill stone row (By author).

Butter Brook and alignments.

Piles Hill to Sharp Tor marks the far northern end of the Butterdon Ridge before reaching Three Barrows and moving into the interior of the Moor. Moving south and off Piles Hill you come to the Butter Brook situated between the lower southern slopes of Piles Hill and the north side of Weatherdon Hill. With high ground all around the Butter Brook Valley feels very isolated with the only views off the moor to the south-west and along the course of the brook and valley itself. Within the Butter Brook there are two stone rows, one single, the other double which are constructed and sited on the floor of the valley. The double row is extremely short -25m- and the two rows actually cross each other with the single row orientated at an angle across the end of the other. Another interesting observation is the way that the course of the single row travels into the clitter that occupies much of the floor in this part of the Butter Brook (see figure 4.36). Distinguishing between the row and the natural clitter is very difficult and

picking your way through the stone is very tricky as well. Both the Butter Brook rows are located in a fairly isolated area, to the east of a cairnfield and on the bottom of the Butter Brook. With higher ground to the west, north and east the only open views are to the south-west and the overall sense is one of confinement (see figure 4.37), even though the valley is relatively wide. The rows are both sited approximately 50m from the head of the brook, this and being located within the floor of the valley certainly would seem to conform with the link to water. However, the most interesting feature is the siting of the rows close to the only clitter spread in the area. The course of the single row actually enters the clitter and leaves it on the other side, leaving the middle part of the row 'mingling' with the clitter. It is extremely difficult to follow the course and orientate yourself even with a plan. No doubt this is due to the present vegetation and loss of some of the stones. This deliberate design and incorporation of the natural stone plays with the natural and cultural elements, and emphasises a movement from 'display' to 'hidden' to 'display' again. The natural stone is central to the experience of the row and its 'affect' to walk the row is to walk through the stones and engage with them, within a different realm. Further south on the edge of the Butter Brook is a small enclosure that overlooks the whole of the Butter Brook Valley and where the rows are located. Again, as with the stone rows and in particular the single row, the clitter and exposed stone seems to have been an important element (see figure 4.35). Where the enclosure is located is the only area where a large amount of stone is exposed and forms a central element in the enclosures character. Views out from the enclosure to the west and north-west are over the Butter Brook and even though the enclosure is approximately 1.5km to the south the area of clitter in which the rows are sited is very conspicuous (see figure 4.38).

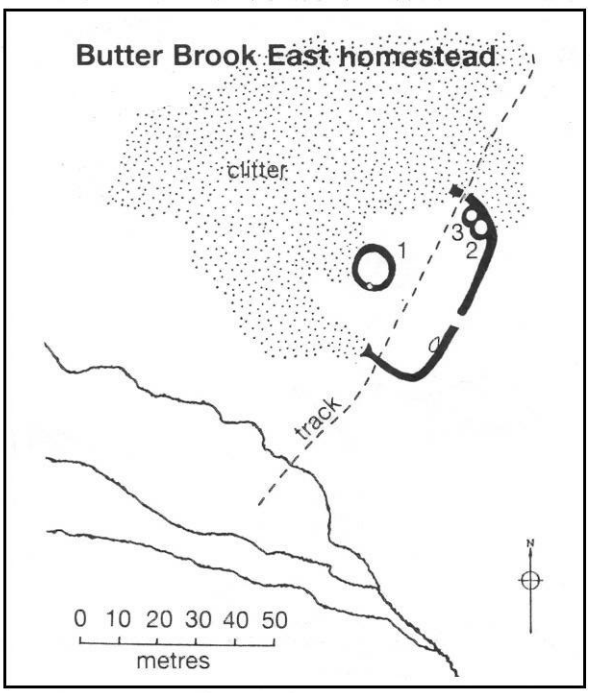


Figure 4.35. Plan of Butter Brook East enclosure and location to clitter (After Butler 1993).

Figure 4.36. Demonstrates where and how Butter Brook single row enters the clitter and then exits on the other side (By author).

Figure 4.37. View to the south west down the Butter Brook (By author)

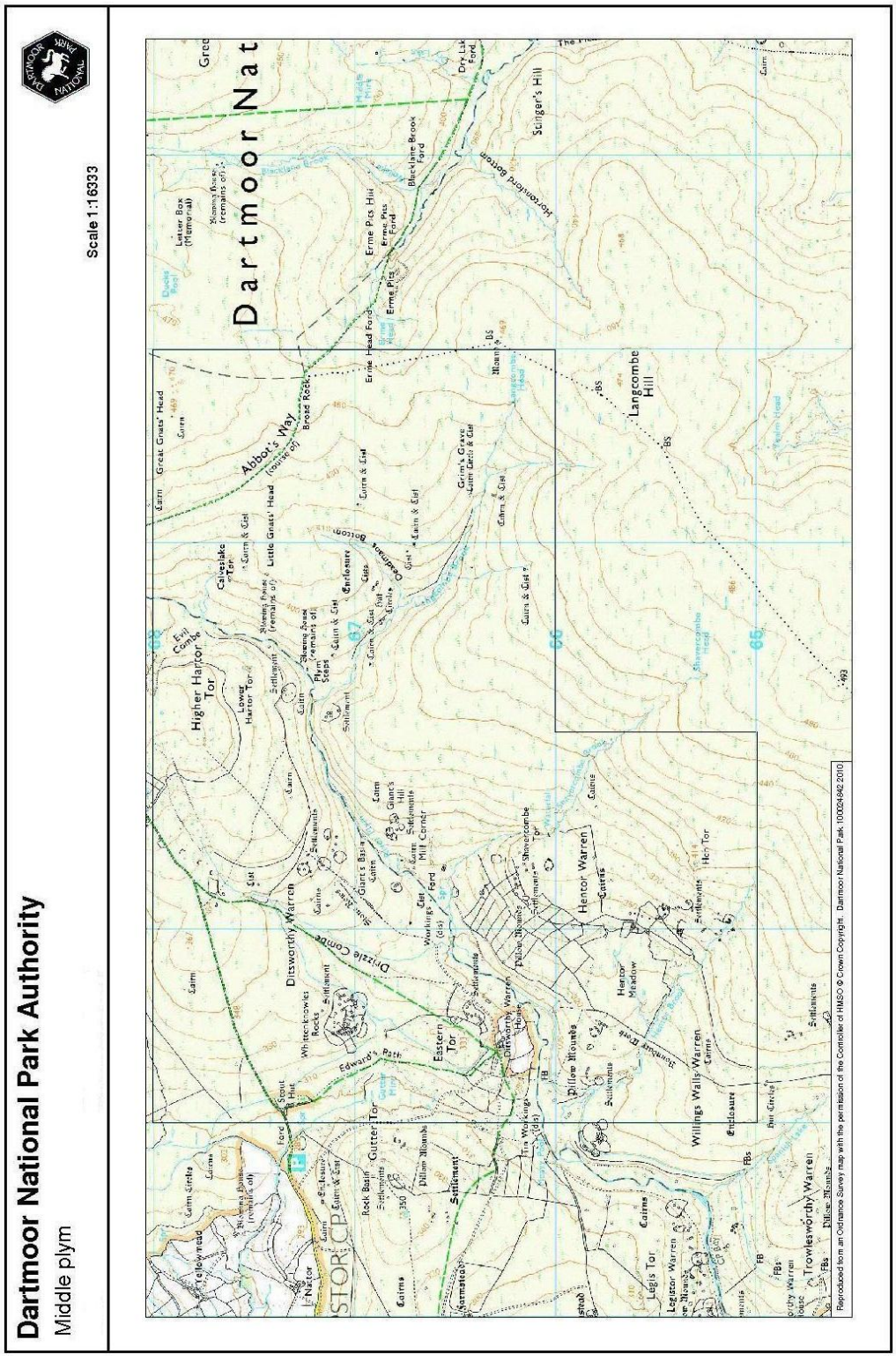
Figure 4.38. View north showing the clitter in which the enclosure incorporates and looks over onto where the two Butter Brook rows are sited. This is just visible as a light grey area in the centre of the photo (By author).

4.2.2 The Topographic and Archaeological Context of The Middle Plym

The Middle Plym is located in the south-west of southern Dartmoor and is characteristic of many of the valleys in the southern part of Dartmoor. Where the land has been elevated higher in the north of the Moor it has meant that streams and rivers with their sources in the central southern highlands flow faster and so have a greater impact on the erosion of the landscape. This has meant that many of the southern valleys have very steep sides and this effect is noticeable in the Upper Plym Valley which forms part of the study area. However, as the course of the valley reaches an area called Drizzlecombe the valley opens out considerably to form a large deep depression in which a number of the remains are sited and focused upon. Tinning has badly affected both the north and south banks of the river Plym and many of its tributaries across the study area. Although this activity has not had a huge impact on the overall size of the valley, in areas where the present day ground reaches the edges where the activity of tinning has occured large areas have been heavily disturbed and have widened some areas of the river banks. The River Plym flows through the study area in a south-westerly direction, eventually reaching Plymouth and the English Channel. Much of its course through the study area is at an elevation of 300m OD. The eastern and southern side of the valley is considerably higher than that to the west, the average elevation of the eastern part of the study area is 420m OD with the maximum height of 460m OD in the far south-east of the area. The Shell Top-Langcombe Hill ridge forms the high topography of the eastern and southern side of the study area therefore all views are blocked in this direction and focuses views out to the western and northern topography (see figure 4.40 & 4.41). Much of the central and western side of the area, where a number of the settlements are located as well as along the valley, are at an elevation of 320-350m OD. There are four tributaries- Langcombe, Shavercombe and Hentor Brooks flow from east to west and The Drizzlecombe that flows in a northeast-southwest direction. All join the Plym on its way off the Moor. There are seven tors within the area, moving south to north; Hen Tor with its substantial clitter spread 414m OD (see figure 4.39), Shavercombe Tor 370m OD and Eastern Tor 333mOD, Gutter Tor 340Mm OD, Higher Hartor Tor 599m OD, Lower Hartor Tor 390m and Calveslake Tor 400m OD. Both Great and Little Trowelsworthy 357m OD and 340m OD respectively are sited just outside of the study area to the south and Sheeptor 369m OD,

Combeshead Tor 371m OD, Down Tor 366m OD, Leather Tor 380m OD and Sharpitor and Peek Hill 410m OD are all to the north-east and north and form very prominent landscape features.

Map 3. Middle Plym Valley Study Area. Black box shows the area to be studied (Ordnance Survey Explorer OL28 © Crown copyright 2010).



There are also a number of tors that form the high areas in the northeast part of the south of Dartmoor that are also visible from the higher areas of the Plym Valley (see figure 4.40). The high eastern side of the valley is formed by the ridge of land that starts from Penn Beacon on the south-western edge of the Moor (also visible from Butterdon Hill) and moves north-easterly to take in Shell Top to Langcombe Hill. This effectively blocks the valley off from the Erme Valley and the southern area of the Moor. The vegetation cover is typical of the Moor with long grasses, gorse and heather very prominent in areas (see figure 4.41). I shall start from Calveslake Tor and cairn in the north-eastern edge of the survey area and move down along the Plym Valley describing the topography and archaeology.

Figure 4.39. Hentor and substantial clitter spread (repeated from chapter 1) (By author).

Figure 4.40. View onto northeast Dartmoor and its tors, taken from the study areas western side (By author).

Figure 4.41. Vegetation cover over the Middle Plym study area. Drizzlecombe is the low area of ground sited in the middle of the photo (By author).

Figure 4.42. Table showing how many archaeological features are visible from the tors within the Middle Plym study area.

NAME	No of tors Visible	No of cairns Visible	No of Stone Rows Visible	No of Settlements Visible
Gutter Tor	6	10	2	20
Hentor	6	10	3	14
Great Trowlesworthy	2	5	1	6
Little Trowlesworthy	6	9	3	8
Calveslake Tor	3	2	1	2
Shavercombe	3	9	2	7
Legis Tor	7	9	1	11
Eastern Tor	4	2	1	5
Higher Hartor Tor	9	8	1	11
Lower Hartor Tor	5	6	1	6
Sheepstor	8	10	1	15

<u>The Upper Plym from Calveslake Tor to Drizzlcombe.</u>

The areas of Calveslake Tor and Langcombe Brook are located in the Upper Plym and form the north-eastern edge of the study area. At an elevation of 400m OD Claveslake Tor is the furthest up the Plym Valley and although it is a fairly inconspicuous tor it has good views down the Plym into Drizzlecombe and off the Moor. The cairn is located approximately 80-100m upslope and to the south, with views blocked in that direction and east, and with the hill of Eyelesbarrow and its summit cairns blocking all views northwards everything is focused down the Plym Valley onto Drizzlecombe and out to the western area of Devon and into Cornwall (see figure 4.43).

Figure 4.43. Showing view to the west from Calveslake Tor Cairn with Lower Hartor Tor in the foreground on the opposite bank. Drizzlecombe Row 2 is the only row visible in the Drizzlecombe area, see figure 4.49 (By author).

The large amount of up-cast produced by cairn diggers would suggest that the cairn was once a fairly conspicuous feature and visible from Higher and Lower Hartor Tors on the opposite bank. When Worth re-excavated the cist he recorded a tanged flint arrowhead along with flint flakes and a quartz crystal. He also noted how the surrounding area towards the tor itself was strewn with flint chippings, cores and flakes, commenting that it was a site for 'implement manufactory' (Butler 1994: 148). Following the course of the river to the south-west you arrive at Plym Steps and the junction of one of the tributaries the Langcombe Brook. Although a small tributary there are eleven cairns located along its course (see figure 4.44 after Butler 1994), though cairns 5 and 11 could not be located. It is interesting to note that of the nine that were located and recorded cairn 7 has the most restricted views limited to just the immediate topography. The area around cairns 1 and 2 which overlook Deadman's Bottom, is an interesting area with three or four embanked circles with two cists. Located approximately 5 metres apart cairn 1 (cist 1) was excavated by Worth in 1900 and a number of fragments of European

Bell Beaker type approximately 18cm in height were recovered and three well preserved and pristine barbed and tanged arrowheads. Nothing was recovered from cist 2. The enclosure and cairn at Lower Hartor Tor are visible, as is cairn 8 and both the tors and the topography up the brook are all visible, but anything out of the immediate environs is blocked by rising ground. The other eight cairns all have views out to the north-west and north-east and take in the distant views of West Devon, Bodmin Moor and the tors of King's Tor, Roos Tor, Sharpitor and Peek Hill which has the remains of a summit cairn located on its western end, Leather Tor and Great Staple Tor. Moving closer to the study area Sheepstor and both Higher and Lower Hartor Tor are all visible.

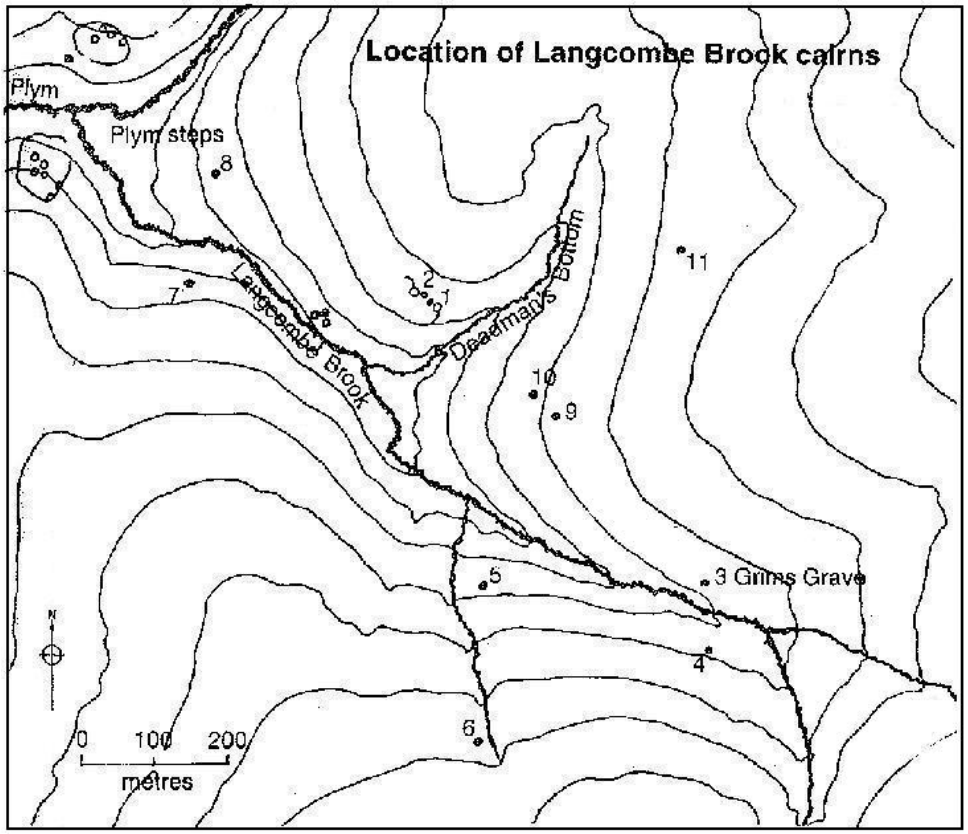


Figure 4:44. Plan of Langcombe Brook and its archaeology (After Butler 1994).

There are two enclosures within this area, one is the Plym Steps enclosure on the southern bank of the Plym and located on a very steep slope down into the valley- little is left of the enclosure. The other enclosure is Lower Hartor Tor situated low on the northern bank which overlooks the Plym-Langcombe Brook junction and looks up to and is over looked by Lower Hartor Tor- upstream Calveslake Tor is visible. There is also a cairn associated with the enclosure sited just on its south-western edge which overlooks the same features as the enclosure in the immediate area. To the south-west

and west along the course of the valley there are views down and off the Moor to the topography of distant hills of West Devon and Cornwall. The river is visible running west and also audible. Drizzlecombe and the menhir of Row 1 are visible and possibly cairn 22- the lowest placed of the Drizzlecombe cairns. The Eastern Tor area closes off Drizzlecombe and the course of the river is not visible after that. Legis Tor is skylined on the horizon and in the mid ground. As highlighted, there are two tors in this area- Higher and Lower Hartor Tor at 410m OD and 390m OD respectively. Neither are tall stacks but form the prominent rock outcrops within this localised area. Both tors are of the 'cyclopean' type and have weathered into blocks stacked on top of each other. It is at Lower Hartor Tor that a possible 'propped stone' was noted during my fieldwork. On closer inspection it was found that one of the top boulders had been positioned on three other grounders (see figure 4.45 & 4.46). Although this will need further investigation myself and two colleagues felt it had most likely been deliberately moved and was possibly the type of propped stone that has been noted in Cornwall and other areas of Dartmoor. The stone has a distinct shape with a rounded south-western end and a pointed north-eastern end with its axis orientated to point up the Plym over Calveslake Tor and onto Crane Hill which forms the background topography to the Upper Plym and is also where the head of the Plym is located. From certain angles as you move around the stone and especially looking up to it, it bears a strong resemblance to chambered tombs such as Spinster's Rock, Drewsteington on Dartmoor and many other dolmens (see figure 4.47).

Figure 4.45. Shows the orientation of the possible propped stone along the course of the Plym and views over to Calveslake Tor and onto Crane Hill (By author).

Walking into the Drizzlecombe area; alignments, enclosures and cairns.

Following the course of the river for approximately 0.5km the valley sides are very steep until you reach Drizzlecombe where the valley opens out and drops down to form a wide, 'bowl' shaped depression that forms the Middle Plym. The area is triangular in shape and is formed by the River Plym on its southern edge and the Drizzlecombe, which is another tributary, running in a northeast-southwest direction forms the north bank of the Drizzlecombe triangle. The triangle's north-eastern edge is formed by rising ground which levels out at approximately 370m OD and continues on to form the Higher Hartor Tor ridge. It is this rising ground to the north-east that contains the enclosures, cairns and stone rows and as a result they all overlook the topography to the west. All the stone rows have a northeast-southwest orientation, with terminal cairns at their upper north-east ends and terminal menhirs at their lower south-west ends. Rows 2 and 3 are single and measure approximately 83m and 149m respectively (Butler 1994: 205). Row 1 has a length of 149m, with the first approximately 73m being single. This then becomes double for a further 47m with the last 29m turning back to a single alignment (see figures 4.48 & 4.49 after Butler 1994: 136).

Figure 4.46. Possible Propped Stone at Lower Hartor Tor demonstrating how it is positioned on the grounders and showing its similarity in appearance with a megalithic chambered tomb (By author).

Figure 4.47. Photo illustrating the similarities in construction between Spinster's Rock, Drewsteington, and the possible propped stone (By author).

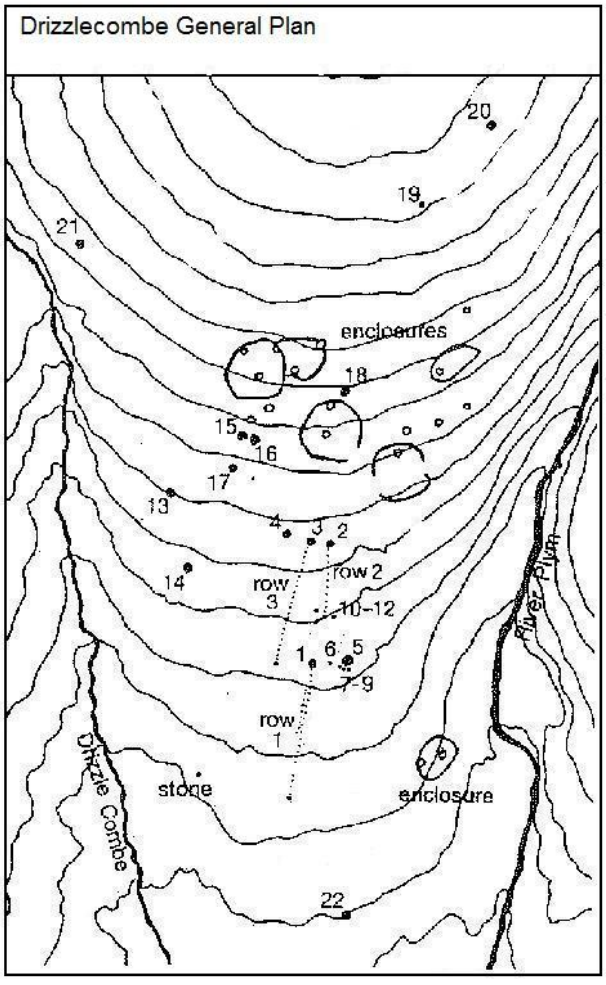


Figure 4:48. Plan of the Drizzlecombe area showing carins, enclosures and stone rows. Contours every 10m (After Butler 1994).

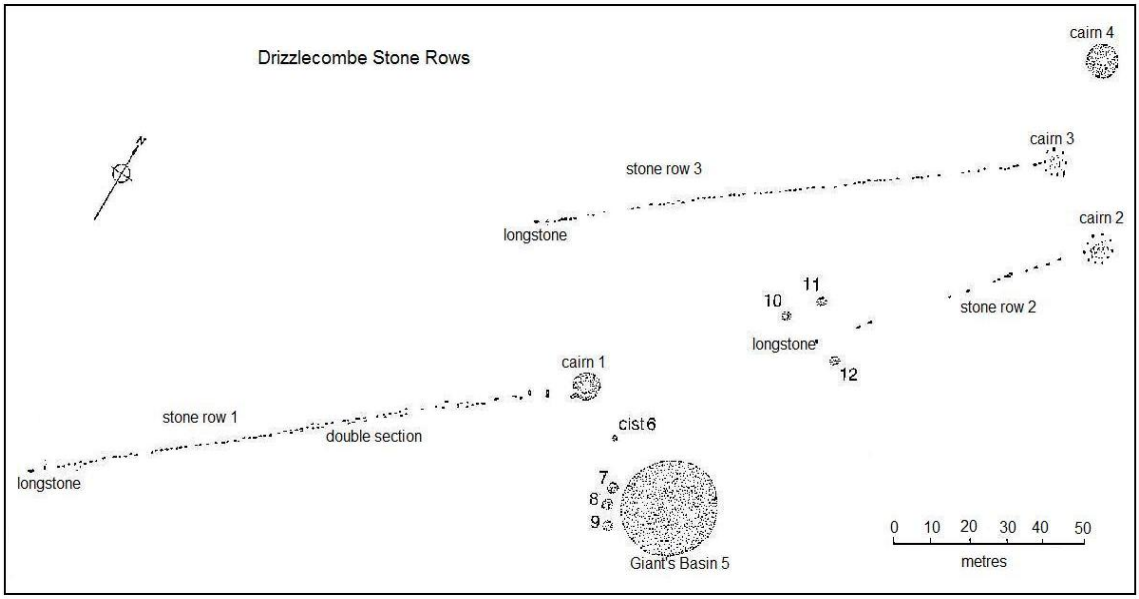


Figure 4:49. Plan of the Drizzlecombe stone rows (After Butler 1994).

The stones used in the alignment are primarily rounded in profile and slab shaped with their long axis along the row, although there are some column/pillar shaped stones. The majority are fine grained granite with the dominant inclusion being small mica crystals making the stones glitter and sparkle in the light, especially when the light catches them in the wet. The stones used in row 2 are larger rounded rectangular slabs, although heights never exceed more than approximately 65cm. When walking down the rows to the south-east and also north-east and up along their course, there are no topographic changes in the ground on which the rows cross and from all the terminal menhirs the tors of Great and Little Trowelsworthy and Eastern Tor are visible to the south-west. Gutter Tor is visible to the north-west and Shavercombe Tor and Hen Tor are visible to the south. Indeed, it is a 180° panorama to the south that takes in Giant's Hill and its enclosures, Shavercombe Tor enclosures and cairns and the enclosure and cairns at Hen Tor. The rivers/streams visible or nearby are the Plym, Shavercombe Brook to the south and The Drizzlecombe. However, it must be remembered that tinning has affected the rivers and streams so they may have looked considerably different in the Bronze Age. The menhirs, due to their size are very distinct and as a result are particularly noticeable from within the surrounding areas. Their sheer size would suggest that they were probably brought in from somewhere out of the immediate

vicinity of the Drizzlecombe triangle- noted by Worth- as there is little stone of this size present and the surrounding tors may have been the source. As mentioned, from the cairn at Lower Hartor Tor enclosure the menhir at the end of row 2 is a very conspicuous feature and gives a constant presence to this area. Inclusions are similar in each terminal menhir, but they do have distinct and different shapes. The menhir at the lower end of row 1 is triangular in shape and narrows to the top, orientated along the row (see figure 4.50 & 4.51). Its north side is uneven and may have been the face that was connected to the bedrock if prised away; the south facing side is much smoother and has an even face. There are large feldspar crystal inclusions all over the whole surface of the stone mixed with mica crystals. The surface of the stone has been weathered to a light grey patination but in areas, especially in the top half of the stone it is white in colour and when fresh/clean would have been very striking. There is a very even overall shape is almost tapered to the top and gives the impression of having been worked (see figure 4.50). Its north face is rough and the south face is smooth possibly due to animals rubbing against the stone.

Figure 4.50 . Row 1, terminal menhir's south face showing its triangular shape and colouring.

Figure 4.51. Row 1 terminal menhir's west face demonstrating the course of the row. Giant's Basin is in the far right of the photo with row 3 and its terminal menhir upslope in the distance (By author).

The menhir at the lower end of row 2 is the largest of the surviving menhirs on Dartmoor and, unlike the other two menhirs/longstones at rows 1 & 3 Drizzlecombe, the menhir at row 2 is set at a right angle to the row. This in itself is an interesting feature and one that is original as when all the terminal stones were re-erected in 1893 the original stone socket was excavated. It is a large rectangular stone with overall even dimensions which gives it an almost worked appearance with a slightly tapered top. One of the most distinctive features on the stone itself is the 'bulb' located at the top of the stone and on its eastern face. Worth noted that the stone may have come from Higher Hartor Tor a kilometre away (Butler 1994: 138). When moving around the menhir this bulb is at its most distinct and visually prominent when viewed from the north, east and south, but from the west you would not know it existed (see figures 4.52 & 4.53). This 'bulb' brings a very distinct dimension to the stone and gives it an almost anthropomorphic look and breaks the 'formal' look of the stone from the west (back). It is also from these directions (N, E, S) that the three cairns are located surrounding the stone, (none are sited to the W or SW) thus making the most of the stones' increased

visual impact as created by the bulb. Overall the stone has the same qualities as the menhir at row 1, fairly large mica crystals and more prominent than feldspar. On its east side the whiteness of the stone could well have been predominant. Looking on its western side the white colouring is also very noticeable and striking when the sun shines on it. When fresh it would have been a very prominent and striking feature.

Figure 4.52. Row 2 terminal menhir's west face showing its rectangular profile (By author).

The stone for the terminal menhir at row 3 is similar to both those at rows 1&2; all are rectangular with even dimensions, almost 'formal' in appearance. The menhir at row 3 has a pointed/rounded triangular top. It has large feldspar and mica crystals and is coarse to touch especially on its southern face, with its north face much smoother (probably due to leaning at an angle to the north and animals rubbing). On both the north and south faces the feldspar is much more visually prominent. The stone's overall colour is white/pink with the remains of a tourmaline surface on its west face. There is a tourmaline vein running from the bottom to about halfway up the stone on the eastern edge of the stone (see figures 4.54 & 4.55).

Figure 4.53. Row 2 terminal menhir looking north. The ‘bulb’ is visible at the top of the stone and produces a very different looking stone. Photo taken from cairn 12, this is one of three small cairns that are situated to ‘look onto’ and be ‘looked onto’ by the menhir (By author).

Figure 4.54. Row 3 terminal menhir showing the shape and texture of the stone. The large white marks are feldspar crystals (By author).

Although there are no significant changes in the topography in which the rows cross there are slight differences in what is seen while walking along them. Row 1 is the lowest sited of the rows and also has the shallowest/lowest gradient on the hill. All the major topographic features within the immediate vicinity (mentioned above) are visible. From the terminal cairn at the upper end there is a tiny view out to the west which is formed by Eastern Tor within the Plym Valley and Saddlesborough (this has a summit cairn) which is approximately 4.5km as the crow flies. An interesting feature noticed when walking up the row from the menhir is the good unbroken views up the Plym Valley and onto the Calveslake and Langcombe Brook areas. As you ascend the row, from approximately 50-55m, a little before the row becomes double the huge cairn called Giant's Basin and located to the south east, begins to obscure the view up the Plym. By the time you reach the double part nearly all the Plym Valley is obscured and after approximately 17m from the start from the double row Giant's Basin blocks all views up the valley.

Figure 4.55. Row 3 terminal menhir's west face showing the black tourmaline surface and the course of the row. To the far right of the photo is the menhir at row 2 and beyond the view to the Upper Plym Valley (By author).

By the end of the double part, the Upper Plym starts to become visible again and once you reach the end of the double part the views are back up the Plym. Butler (1994: 137) suggests this feature, part single-double-single should be seen as an original feature as neither of the single segments can have been paired as they are aligned along the central axis of the avenue. However, their junctions differ at either end. At the lower terminal menhir end the line abuts onto the centre of the avenue, where as the nearest three slabs at the cairn end are set on a curve to continue the line of the south row only. Row 2 is a much shorter row and from the upper cairn end the topographic feature of Sheepstor is visible to the north-west and to the west the hills of West Devon and East Cornwall are framed by Eastern Tor's southern slope and Saddlesborough's northern slope (as with row 1). After approximately 24m Sheepstor disappears and although the distant views to the west become reduced as you descend they never completely disappear. As you ascend the row there are no significant topographic features on the skyline or horizon, but there are views up the Plym Valley and up to Deadman's Bottom in the Langcombe Brook. This further adds to the focus placed on the row and within the immediate area of the Pym Valley. Rows 2 and 3 both terminate at the same contour with their terminal cairns being only a few metres apart. As a result the topographic features from the terminal cairns are the same. Therefore, as you descend from row 3 Sheepstor is visible to the north-west with the same framing effect noted from rows 1 and 2. After approximately 25-26m Sheepstor disappears and after 80-85m the distant views all disappear. From the terminal menhir the views up the Plym are not as extensive as from rows 1 and 2, but it is possible to see the Langcombe Brook area- in ascending the row the valley becomes obscured. As you arrive at the terminal cairn it is apparent that the row is not aligned central to the cairn and it is actually approximately 1-1.5m to the north of the centre of the cairn.

The location of Drizzlecombe at the western end of the Higher Hartor Tor ridge and situated in a 'bowl-like' topography with higher ground all around emphasises the 'enclosed' nature of the area (see figure 4.56). Views to the east, south and west are all blocked and prevent any further views or experience apart from the immediate vicinity. It also forms a focal point for the surrounding area creating an almost circular landscape (Watson 2001a, 2001b). Experience seems to be focused 'in' and 'onto' this area. Of course, the further up Drizzlecombe Ball/Hill ('Ball' also refers to a hill) the better the views over the immediate and distant topography. Higher up on the southern side of the study area around Hen Tor and Shavercombe Tor it is possible to see over to the north-

west parts of Dartmoor with its many tors, then onto the western areas of Devon and into Cornwall. From the bottom of the Drizzlecombe Triangle there emerge a set of variables that stay constant for all the settlements, cairns and rows.
These are that distant views are;

- Never to the south.
- Never to the east until on the summit of Drizzlecombe Ball.
- Minimal views out to the west (down the Plym Valley).
- Nothing to the north apart from the top of Sheepstor.

Sited on a west facing slope of Drizzlecombe Ball are four enclosures all with hut circles within them. There are three independent hut circles on the southern side of the slope which over look the Plym. Excluding the terminal cairns of the stone rows there are nineteen cairns (see figure 4.48). Cairn 22 is the lowest sited and isolated away from the main cluster- however its location affords it very good views up and over the whole Drizzlecombe area and also up the Plym Valley all the way to Lower Hartor Tor and the Langcombe Brook area. It is also only 60-70m from where both the Plym and The Drizzlecombe meet and overlooks them both. Again, the area has been affected badly by tinning. With the cairn being located so low down there is a real sense of the circularity of the landscape in which Drizzlecombe is situated. To the south, Hentor and Great Trowlesworthy are skylined on the horizon and to the west.

Figure 4.56. Illustrating the siting of the Drizzlecombe rows in the lower ‘bowl-like’ topography of the Drizzlecombe area and how the higher surrounding topography focuses onto this area (By author).

Eastern Tor and its enclosures are visible, and the top of Gutter Tor is on the horizon above Whittenknowles Rocks ridge. Cairns 19, 20, 21 are sited away from the main cluster of remains, with cairn 21 in a very isolated and localised setting. Sited on the south bank of the Drizzlecombe, and though it is sited away from the main group of remains, the cairn overlooks the Drizzlecombe area, with row 1 and cairn 13 visible to the south. It is probable that cairn 14 sited just down from 13 (see figure 4.48) both over looking and located near to The Drizzlecombe would have been visible from cairn 21 when first constructed. Although it appears an isolated location the cairn still references the Drizzlecombe area and looks up to Eyelsbarrow and its summit cairns which are framed by the banks of The Drizzlecombe. Although Whittenknowles Rocks enclosure and Gutter Tor with its associated archaeology are visible, it is up the Drizzlecombe and over the Drizzlecombe Triangle that forms the main focus.

Movement out of Drizzlecombe.

Moving up and out of Drizzlecombe to the north is the Whittenknowles Rocks ridge which forms the north bank of The Drizzlecombe and blocks all views in that direction from within Drizzlecombe. Located on the ridge is Whittenknowles Rocks enclosure, an enormous enclosure with approximately 38 hut circles, located within the main circuit. The most striking feature, other than its size is the location of the enclosure within an area of extensive clitter and surface stone. Its location within the stone is further emphasised when you consider the fact that 100m or less upslope to the east there is a stone free open area in which the enclosure could easily have been sited if they desired a stone free area. Many of the huts are joined by constructed walling or using the naturally disposed lines of the clitter. Located approx 80-100m north-east of Whittenknowles Rocks enclosure and approx 60m from the edge of the surface stone is a cairn associated with the enclosure. Sited on a west-east slope, the cairn tilts to overlook the Drizzlecombe Complex and the Middle Plym Valley taking in all the topographic and archaeological features. Due to high ground to the north and west and blocking any views in those directions, everything is focused onto the Middle Plym. Following the ridge to the south-west you come to Eastern Tor and its five enclosures and three independent hut circles. Little is left of the remains on Eastern Tor and all are located on the south face and overlook the lower stretches of the study area and into Drizzlecombe. Eastern Tor itself is a scattering of large grounders and although low in profile the area which it covers is large and so makes it a visible feature across the study

area. Moving away from the valley to the north-east and approximately 1.5km as the crow flies is Gutter Tor. This is a very prominent tor with a large amount of clitter on its eastern face and when viewed from the east it shows a distinct avenue between the two summits of the tor (see figure 4.57). On its summit there are three solution basins, two small and one large with a channel on its southern edge where water can run out (see figure 4.58).

Figure 4.57. Gutter Tor viewed with its distinct avenue between the two summits (Repeated from introduction. By author).

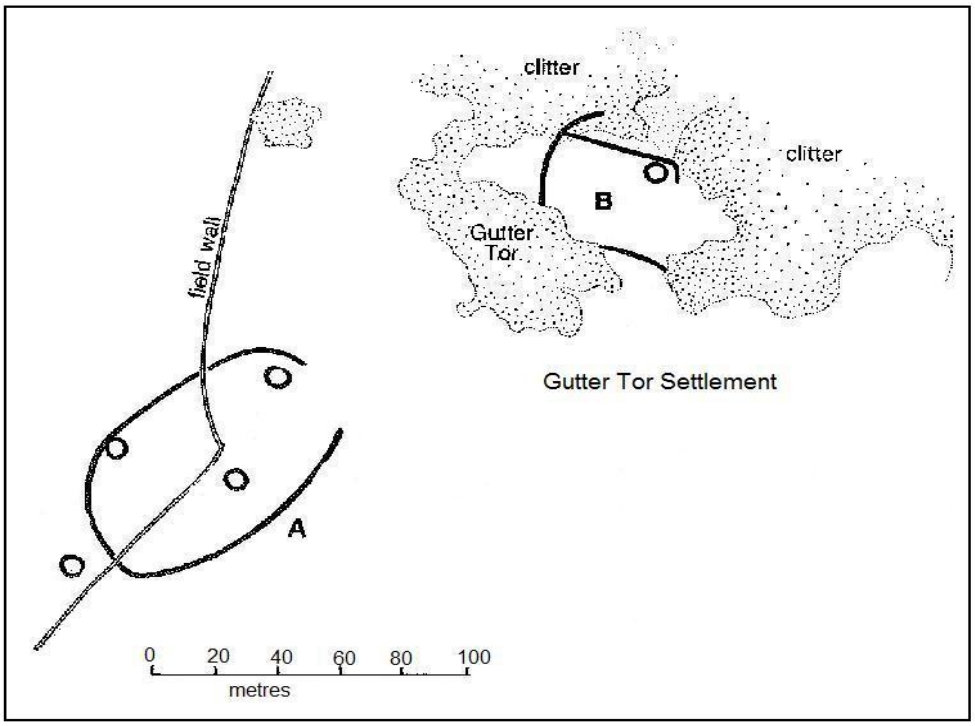
Within the eastern side of the tor there is a natural stone free open platform where an enclosure with one hut circle has been constructed amongst the rocks. The location of the enclosure and hut afford good extensive views over the study area to the south-east (see figure 4.59 & 4.60) and to the north overlooking the head of Sheepstor Brook which flows off in a north-easterly direction. In the same location as Sheepstor Brook head is the boggy area of Gutter Mire. However it has been badly disturbed by tinning and its original appearance is impossible to determine. It is very difficult in places to distinguish between the natural clitter spread and where stone has been moved to make a wall.

Figure 4.58. Two of the solution basins on the northern summit of Gutter Tor (By author).

To the west and behind the tor there is another enclosure (A) which has been cut by a modern field wall and the huts within the enclosure have had the stone taken to be used within the construction of the wall. There are five cairns situated within this area- three on the higher ground of Gutter Tor ridge and two sited to the north on lower ground which overlook Sheepstor and its valley (only one of these cairns was located as the other is only a cist and due to vegetation cover it could not be located). Gutter Tor summit cairn has a 360° panoramic view and takes in all the major topographic features within the study area and the tors to the north. The two other cairns located on the higher ground to the east and below the summit cairn are sited in interesting positions. One is located at the head of a coombe running down to the north and off Gutter Tor and has views into the Plym Valley and out to the north over to the distant tors. The 'bringing in' of these two areas acts as a transitional area combining the two areas and views together. The second is located on the western side of the coombe and is sited on a west-east slope. The cairn sits halfway between the bottom and top, on the western side of the Gutter Tor Coombe with its course running from its top in the south on Gutter Tor Hill and travelling north down from Gutter Tor. This tilts it to the east and overlooking the coombe.

Figure 4.59. View east from Gutter Tor enclosure B. Whittenknowles Rocks enclosure is visible to the right of the photo, Drizzlecombe is located in the middle of the photo with higher ground surrounding it (By author).

Figure 4:60 (below). Plan of Gutter Tor demonstrating the location of the hut circle and walls (After Butler 1994).



Leaving Gutter Tor and heading back to the Plym Valley, crossing it near to Ditsworthy Warren and walking along the river's south bank the large enclosure of Willings Walls Warren is located on a bend in the river. Although low down and near to the river, open ground to the north, north-east and east provides extensive views onto Gutter Tor and to the distant hills near North Hessary Tor. Eastern Tor and the Drizzlecombe Triangle are visible to the north-east and as far as Crane Hill at the end of the Plym Valley as a whole. Eyelesbarrow is also visible. To the east, Hentor and its clitter spread form a prominent feature and draws the eye. All the enclosures would have been visible at Lower an Upper Hentor and possibly the cairns of Upper Hentor and even the upper areas of Shavercombe Brook. Rising ground to the south and west obscures any views, and there are restricted views to the south-west and along the course of the river and valley. Great Trowelsworthy Tor is set against the sky to the west and just its summit is visible. To the west on the opposite side of the valley, Legis Tor is also set against the horizon. Approximately 0.5km uphill to the south are four cairns all located on an east facing slope and are therefore tilted to look into the Middle Plym and Drizzlecombe. All four cairns have extensive views north over Gutter Tor and out to North Hessary; east are the views onto Hentor and Shavercombe Tor areas; all views south are blocked and one cairn (3) which is the furthest south has no views out to the north-west. Cairns 4 & 2 have very restricted views in the same direction with Legis Tor summit just visible from the both of them. Only cairn 1, which is also cut by the Willings Walls Warren reave, (and so an earlier feature) has views out to the west and north-west and over to Legis Tor and the very summit of Sheepstor. Cairn 4 is approximately 1m to the west of the reave, and there is a circular feature also cut by the reave and marked by a slight earthwork on its eastern edge and clumps of at least five sets of upright stones. From cairn 4 and the circular feature the views and landscape of the Middle Plym and all the topography to the west are visible (see figure 4.70). One interesting feature is the closeness in which cairn 3 is located to a large area of exposed stone. In its present state, without its covering mound, the cairn resembles the grounders/boulders which are close by. Although with the covering mound it would have looked a lot different, it is highly probable that the stone came from this area. Its closeness to the stones can be seen as a way of referencing them, using the stone to construct the cist and the capstone is taking and using the power associated with the stone in the burial of the deceased. The covering mound encloses that power and keeps it with the deceased.

Figure 4.61. Views from Willings Wall Warren cairn 4 (By author).

Topography, enclosures and cairns at Hentor and Shavercombe Tor.

Downslope from Willings Walls Warren cairns, at approximately 1km, are the three enclosures of Lower Hentor and a double cisted cairn. Though one enclosure is located in a dip Eyelesbarrow and the summit cairns form the far background topography with Higher Hartor Tor ridge stretching to Drizzlecombe Ball which is just visible above the rising ground. The other two enclosures are sited close together and take in the same topography northwards. To the NW in the distant background the tors of Great Mis Tor and Little Mis Tor, North Hessary, Great and Middle Staple Tor, Roos Tor, Leeden Tor, Leather Tor and Sharpitor are framed by Gutter Tor and Eastern Tor. Only Enclosure A on Eastern Tor is not visible and Enclosures A&B and possibly the summit cairn are visible on Gutter Tor. Due north, Eyelesbarrow and the summit cairns form the background topography with Higher Hartor Tor visible and leading SW to Drizzlecombe and the Enclosures A-D are all visible along with all the cairns and rows in the Drizzlecombe Complex. The whole of the Drizzlecombe Brook is visible including where it meets the Plym River. Lower Hartor Tor is visible as is Giant's Hill Enclosure, it is unlikely that cairn 1 is visible. Shavercombe Enclosure C on Shavercombe summit is skylined to the NE. Whittenknowles Rocks Enclosure and its

ridge leading to the NE and Eyelesbarrow forms the mid-ground along with the Drizzlecombe-Higher Hartor Tor ridge. The foreground is formed by Eastern Tor's east face/side and Shavercombe's west face frames the bowl depression in which the Drizzlecombe Complex is sited. Eastwards, Shell Top-Crane Hill ridge forms the background topography and blocks all topography and views out to the east and south. The upper course of Shavercombe Brook is visible along with the exposed rocks around cairn 5 Hentor Cairns. Hentor, clitter and the upper course of the Hentor Brook are the most distinct and strongest topographic features; all the archaeological features in this area are visible. Southwards, the reave and cairns on Willings Walls Warren are visible and so is the top of Little Trowlesworthy. Westwards, good views of Wigford Down and Dewerstone (which is a possible Neolithic enclosure and where an urn had been interred in to the rock face) frame the topography of the Plym's course west and off the Moor. The distance hills of the South Hams, East Cornwall and West Devon are visible. Legis Tor is skylined against the horizon with NW Dartmoor visible above Gutter Tor ridge that leads to Ringmoor and Legis Tor. Willings Walls Warren Enclosure is visible on the opposite side of Lower Hentor Brook and overlooks where Plym and Hentor Brook meet, also visible from Enclosure C. Little survives of the cists but there is a good retaining circle. Its location takes in many of the features that have been mentioned; northwards the distance background topography is formed by Great and Little Mis Tor, North Hessary Tor, Middle and Great Staple Tor, Leeden Tor and possibly King's Tor. Both Gutter Tor (west) and Eastern Tor (east) frame the background topography with Down Tor (top of) just visible over the western slope of Eastern Tor (see figure 4.62). To the NE the top and middle of Drizzlecombe Brook is visible with Whittenknowles Rocks Ridge stretching westwards. Eyelesbarrow and summit cairns rise above and beyond the head of Drizzlecombe Brook with Higher Hartor Tor skylined to the south of Eyelesbarrow. Enclosure A & B are visible on Drizzlecombe and possibly cairns 15, 16, 17, 18 & 21 maybe 20. Topography to the east and southeast is formed by Shavercombe summit and Enclosure C is just visible, as is the top of Giant's Hill. The strongest topographic features are Hentor and its clitter spread along with the exposed surface stone around cairns 4 & 5 of Hentor Cairns (the cairns would possibly have been visible), all the archaeological features at Hentor are visible. The whole course of Hentor Brook is visible from top to bottom including its juncture with the River Plym. Shell Top-Crane Hill ridge forms the background topography and blocks all views to the south and southwest. To the south the

topography is just Willings Walls Warren, the reave and cairns. Westwards topography is the land stretching north from Dewerstone forming the mid-ground topography with north-west Dartmoor just visible above Gutter Tor ridge and Legis Tor.

Following Hentor Brook to the south for approximately 0.5km you reach the enclosures of Hentor and the tor itself. The tor is a very prominent feature and from the whole of the Middle Plym it is skylined against the horizon and in the autumn and winters months when the bracken has died back the clitter spread that streams down its north facing slope is a distinct and strong feature (see figures 4.39 & 4.63).

Figure 4.62. Topography and views to the north from Lower Hentor cisted cairn and enclosures (By author).

Figure 4.63. View down and over the clitter of Hentor's north face and over the Middle Plym (By author).

Two of the enclosures are sited and constructed within the clitter and surface stone of Hentor. One enclosure forms an arc around the outside of the NW edge of an extensive clitter spread that is visible from a distance within the surrounding (survey) area, and situated on an east-west slope. Although the interior of the enclosure is less stony than the clitter spread proper, it is not totally stone free as Butler's plan would suggest. Between huts 3, 4, 5 & 6 the area is still very stony and much of the enclosure's western interior is fairly stony (see figure 4.64). The densest of the clitter is to the S and SE of the enclosure and the move from the enclosure interior into the clitter spread is one of a gradual change in concentration/density of stone not one of defined separation of the two. Another enclosure consists of approximately 13 hut circles and Butler notes that more could well have extended down to Hentor House but now are gone due to ploughing. The present remains of huts are joined by walling surrounding the foot of Hentor's clitter spread and surround it from north to south, forming a barrier to the clitter. The walls and huts are difficult to identify due to vegetation and the close proximity to the clitter. This makes it difficult to distinguish between 'natural' and 'cultural' (see figure 4.64)

Figure 4.64. View through the doorway of Hut 5, Enclosure C demonstrating the close relationship between the the 'natural' and 'cultural' (By author).

There are seven cairns all located on the northern flank of Hentor and above the enclosures at Shavercombe Tor. Cairns 3-7 all look onto the Drizzlecombe Complex and it is to the north and west that the most extensive views and topographic features are found for all the cairns (see figure 4.66). Northwards the background topography is formed by the hills and tors of, North Hessary Tor, Great and Little Mis Tor, Great & Middle & Little Staple Tors, Roos Tor and Cox Tor. The mid-ground topography is formed by Leeden Tor, King's Tor, Cramber Tor, Black Tor, Sharpitor Tor and Peek Hill, Leather Tor, Sheepstor, Down Tor, Combeshead Tor with Hingston Hill and its stone Row visible. The foreground topography is formed by Whittenknowles Rocks ridge and enclosure stretching east to the head of Drizzlecombe Brook and

Eyelesbarrow and its summit cairns. Higher Hartor Tor is visible and forms a ridge of ground leading west to Drizzlecombe Hill and down into the Drizzlecombe Triangle.

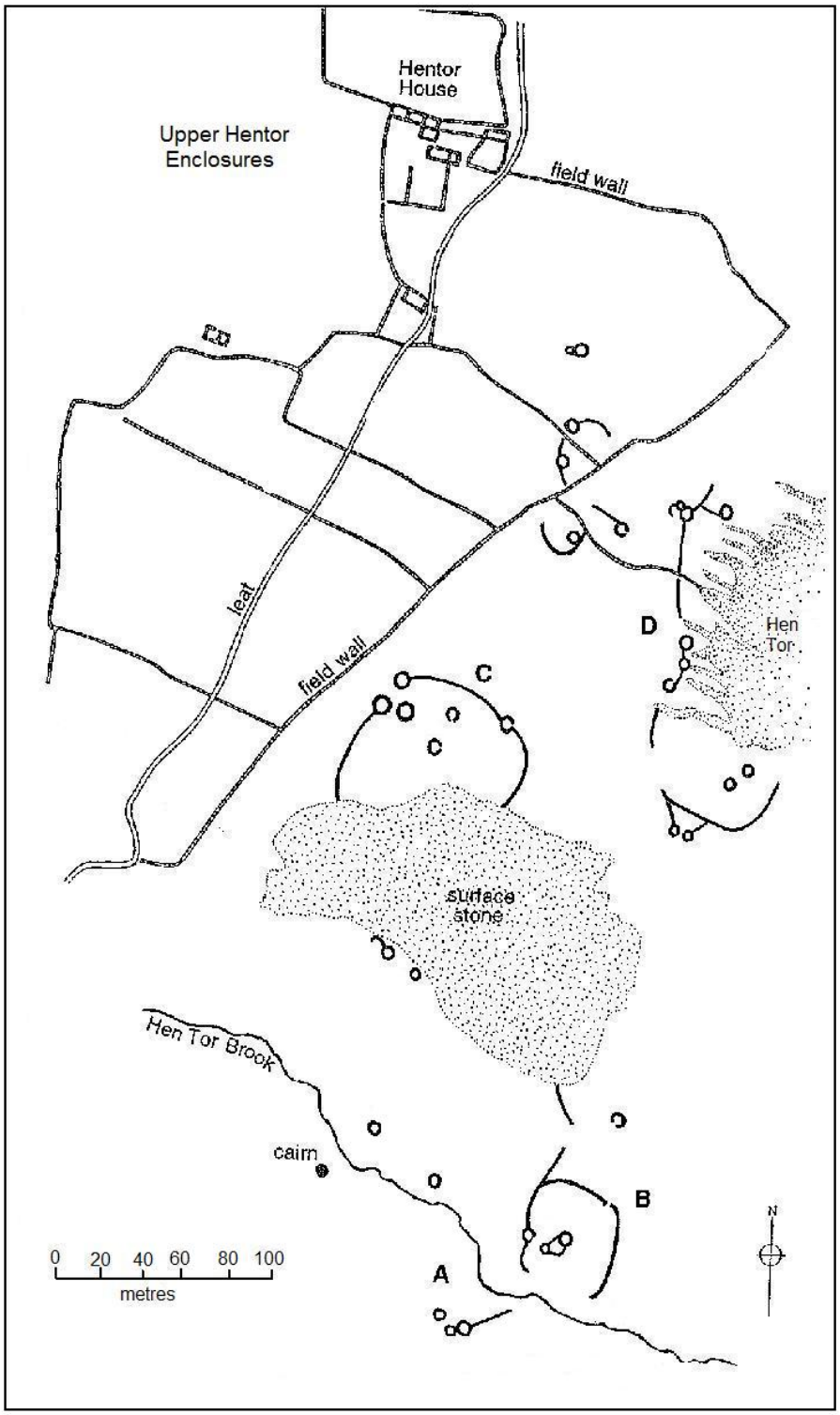


Figure 4:65. Plan of Hentor Tor demonstrating the location of the hut circle and walls (After Butler 1994).

Figure 4.66. View and topography from the Hentor cisted cairns. Shavercombe waterfall is the dark area visible in the middle of the photo with the tor just beyond (By author).

All the archaeological features apart from cairn 21 and Mill Corner in the complex are visible. To the north-east, Crane Hill forms the background topography with Giant's Hill stretching out in front to form the mid and foreground. The Drizzlecombe Brook itself is visible running from northeast-southwest as is the mid part of Shavercombe Brook around the waterfall and Shavercombe Tor. To the north-west the distance hills of Dartmoor are visible with the Gutter Tor area stretching west to join Ringmoor Down and Legis Tor to form the mid-ground, and Eastern Tor forming the foreground just beyond and over Shavercombe's summit. Enclosure C at Shavercombe is visible but not the other archaeological features. Eastwards all the ground rises and blocks views in this direction. Southwards, the rising ground to Shavercombe Head forms the topography along with the top part of Shavercombe Brook. There is an exposed area of stone/clitter

on the opposite side near to cairn 5, which is visible. Hentor and its clitter spread are skylined to the south-west and the archaeology would be visible. Westwards, in the distant background the sea is visible and the hills of East Cornwall and the South Hams form the topography. Moving onto the Moor, Saddlesborough is just visible above the top of Little Trowelsworthy. Wigford Down and Dewerstone both mark the course of the Plym Valley and river. The foreground is formed by Willings Walls Warren and Lower Hentor and all the associated archaeological features, with Legis Tor and Ringmoor Down beyond.

Shavercombe Tor cairns and enclosures; Just under 1km downhill are the enclosures and cairns of Shavercombe Tor. In total there are four enclosures and one has been badly damaged by the encroachment of tinning on the south bank of the Plym. There are six cairns all located on a natural ridge and all overlook onto the Drizzlecombe area and all share the same visual field (see figure 4.67). The west and north have the most extensive views and landscape features. To the north the immediate feature is the course of the Plym Valley running east to west which has the Drizzlecombe Complex located in the bowl-like depression found in the Middle Plym Valley. This open area of ground is very conspicuous and forms the only large open space/area within this part of the Plym Valley, very much a focal point. The Drizzlecombe complex is located on an area of ground that rises from west-east and has the Drizzlecombe course running from the northeast-southwest and the course of the Plym running along its southern flank east-west. The hill that Whittenknowles Rocks Enclosure is sited on forms the northern side of the Plym Valley. Beyond this the top of Down Tor is visible above Whittenknowles Rocks Hill. Then further on the landscape opens out onto the hills of the Meavy Valley and beyond up to Great Mis Tor, which is the extent of the landscape and views to the north. The tors that are visible are, North Hessary Tor, Roos Tor, Great Staple Tor, Middle Staple Tor, Little Staple Tor, Kings Tor, Leeden Tor, Leather Tor, Sharpitor, Peek Hill and its summit cairn, Sheepstor, Gutter Tor and Cox Tor (see figure 4.68 moving from the northern background to the south and coming closer to the area).

Figure 4.67. View showing the topography to the north from the cairns and enclosures at Shavercombe Tor. Drizzlecombe is located in the middle of the photo (By author).

Figure 4.68. Extensive views from the Shavercombe area out over to the Meavy Valley and distant tors and the Drizzlecombe Complex in the lower foreground (By author).

To the north-west are the far distant hills of north-west Dartmoor and looking around to the west the landscape and views stretch out over West Devon and into East Cornwall with Bodmin Moor forming the topography in the distance (Brown Willy possibly

visible). Legis Tor is visible on the edge of the study area, also Eastern Tor with its enclosures forming a prominent feature in the middle of the study area. All views south are blocked by rising ground, but the course of the Shavercombe Brook is visible running from its source in the south and located on the Shell Top-Langcombe Hill Ridge and down into the Plym Valley. To the east, Shavercombe Tor is visible, otherwise the landscape and view are obscured by the eastern side of the rising ground of Shavercombe Brook. To the NE Higher Hartor Tor is visible as is Eyelesbarrow.

"Coming full circle"; Giant's Hill enclosure and cairns.

Giant's Hill completes this topographic and archaeological description. The enclosure consists of at least five Pounds and 15 hut circles. All the hut circles are in bad states of preservation. Located on the valley's south bank the enclosure is sited on an east-west slope and overlooks the Drizzlecombe Complex and down into and along the Plym Valley (see figure 4.69). To the north the immediate ground slopes down into the Plym Valley with the Drizzlecombe-Higher Hartor Tor Ridge forming the topography to the north, with the tor visible on the skyline and the enclosure and cairns all visible on the valley's north bank. Enclosures B, C & D, cairns 20, 23, 18, hut circles 13, 14, 15 and the hut circles and converted huts in Enclosures B & C. Looking eastwards the rising ground to the summit of Giant's Hill is the only topographic feature. Southwards overlooks the ridge between Shell Top-Crane Hill, Hentor, Shavercombe Tor with their archaeological features, and also overlooks the mid area of Shavercombe Brook down to where it meets the Plym, and Great and Little Trowlesworthy. Moving to the SW, there is Cornwall in the far distance and the hills of the South Hams, Saddlesborough, Wigford Down, Legis Tor, Ringmoor Down, Willings Walls Warren, and the Eastern Tor area with its archaeological features. Westwards overlooks to NW Dartmoor, the Gutter Tor area, Sheepstor, with the top of Leather Tor just visible with Sharpitor and Peek Hill behind. Northwards we see the Drizzlecombe Complex- its rows, cairns, and enclosures with Whittenknowles Rocks enclosure on the skyline. Two cairns are located, one to the east and on higher ground from the enclosure, and the other located low down to the west and on the south bank of the Plym. Located to the east of Giant's Hill Enclosure, cairn 1 is sited on an east-west slope and tilts to overlook Drizzlecombe Triangle/Complex and out to north-west Dartmoor. The location of cairn 1 is similar to that of cairn 20 (part of the Drizzlecombe cairn group) on the opposite north bank, one

that's high up on the hillside, exposed and almost marking the change from an 'open' valley to one that becomes 'enclosed'.

Figure 4.69. Looking onto Drizzlecombe Complex from Giant's Hill with the distinct shapes of Sheepstor (middle background) and Gutter Tor (left) (By author).

4.3 Fieldwork Analysis

The central focus for the following interpretation of the fieldwork data is one of the body's inhabitation in the landscape, and how the archaeological remains continue and are part of the body's -both individual and group- continuing role in how the world is inhabited. Essentially, how is the human subject oriented and situated in place, how does movement of the body through the landscape create and sustain a sense of self and 'Being in the World' and what is the role of the archaeological remains in this process. Movement of the body over, along and through both the landscape and the archaeology is the central focus but, more specifically it is the role of walking and its significance in learning, engaging, re-collecting, placing the body 'in' and moving the body 'out' in the world.

Solnit (2001: 5) writes "the rhythm of walking generates a rhythm of thinking, and a passage through a landscape echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts. This creates an odd consonance between internal and external passage, one that suggests that the mind is also a landscape of sorts and that walking is one way to traverse it." Walking offers the opportunity not only to open up a dialogue between the mind and body, but also between body and place (Anderson 2004: 258). Through walking the body goes out to meet the world. The concept of 'Outgoing' is how the lived body encounters the place-world and goes to meet it via a spatial framework (Casey 2001: 688). Body and place are in a constant flux of evolving in relation to each other, together they are 'constitutive co-ingredients', a set of relations that demonstrate the inherent socio-spatial character of human knowledge (Casey 2001, Anderson 2004). By 'Outgonig' the place-world is energized, and transformed by the very bodies that belong to it -bodies can be both people, animals or the physical character of an environment- while these bodies are guided and influenced by the world's inherent structures (Casey 2001: 688). Just as the body encounters and goes out into the world, so the body brings 'in' places it has known, or 'Incoming' (Casey 2001). The body is shaped by the places it comes to know and in turn have come to it, they take up residence in it. By 'Incoming' the body becomes placialized, the incoming -or 'coming in'- of places is an inscription of layers of meaning.

Walking is one of the constituent acts that creates place and as a form of bodily movement is a way that one inhabits their surroundings and become familiar and knowledgeable. Key areas, landmarks and places are walked through and open up the

senses to allow the re-calling of incidents, re-engagements of memories, feelings and experiences that are part of the process in which individuals and groups understand a sense of self and being in the world (Anderson 2004: 258). Body, landscape and the monuments/settlements are the places that 'dwelling' is learnt and anchored. The way that walking is carried out might be on your own, equally it could be with another individual or in a group. In his article '*Talking Whilst Walking: A Geographical Archaeology of Knowledge'* Jon Anderson (2004) highlights how talking and walking is an important process in understanding the relationship between people and place. Following Edward Casey's writings, Anderson focuses on the 'constitutive co-ingredience' of people and place (Casey 2001) and argues that within social science more can be done to understand and study the relationship between people and place and the formation of knowledge by focusing and employing the body. Fundamental to understanding systems of knowledge is the art of walking as a process of engagement, added to this is the role of talking while you walk. It is through "talking whilst walking that the capacity to access the relationship between people, place and time" comes about (Anderson 2004: 260). Although Anderson is referring to this process as a methodological tool for interviewing people in the present, and of course within prehistoric archaeology -and much of archaeology- this is not possible, the importance is thinking about the two together and in the context of walking the landscape and monuments/settlements.

Through talking and walking, conversing and traversing pathways through an environment you are able to create and engage -perhaps re-create and re-engage- with worlds of knowledge or pathways of knowledge through the world by talking meanings and understandings into existence (Anderson 2004: 260). The very nature of prehistoric monuments means that they are often seen in isolation, as solemn, quiet entities and with specific reference to Dartmoor and the study areas often in barren and lonely environments. However, not only is it important that the ceremonial monuments and settlements be viewed together as inter-related places which are fundamental to how the lived body inhabits and finds itself familiar with particular places within their wider surroundings, they are and would have been active and 'affective' places holding a presence and resonance. With particular reference to stone rows it is necessary to see them as places of memory, attachment and where embodied knowledge was learnt and taught by both walking and talking whilst walking. They are pathways of knowledge, and one of active engagement where noise from the surrounding environment or from a

voice, are triggers that bring meaning and understanding into existence. As highlighted at the start of this section the central focus for the interpretation of the monuments and settlements is one of 'movement' and the effect this has on the body and the embodiment of knowledge and being. The stone rows, cairns -both summit cairns and those constructed off the summits and near to enclosures- and settlements are physical expressions not just of a community's attachment, but are fundamental in the learning -both primary and continued- of how an individual and group "get on in the world".

After having visited and walked all of the alignments I started to think about their placement or particular siting in the landscape. Some crossed or entered transitional areas such as Piles Hill, Butter Brook single row, Brent Fore Hill and also Butterdon Hill. Others simply seemed to have no distinct changes in either their immediate topographic setting or in what was visible out in the wider landscape, as at the Drizzlecombe rows. Apart from Butterdon Hill and Piles Hill the other twelve rows are all relatively short with Butter Book single row the longest at 198m in length and Butter Brook double row 25.6m in length. Therefore, the distance they travel is not an important factor in their design. Out of all the rows eleven are orientated northeast-southwest and within the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Valley the rows of Brent Fore Hill, the two at Corringdon Ball, Glasscombe Corner, Glasscombe Ball North and the two Butter Brook rows form what appears a 'processional' route over the landscape, although located in their own individual landscape setting. There are a number of features that all the rows share and these are briefly highlighted in the following subheadings. However, it is what the rows express that is important and what they express is movement and specifically walking.

4.3.1 Cairn Location and Row Orientation to the Cairn

In the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Valley area the two alignments orientated north-south have their cairns at the southern end, and of the other ten alignments across both areas with northeast-southwest orientations nine have their cairns at the north-eastern end while the double row at Butter Brook has the cairn at its south-western end. Piles Hill has no terminal cairn associated with either end, and the single row at Butter Brook has no identifiable origin and starts a few metres west of the cairn associated with the double row. Of all the rows, four have terminal cairns sited at the lower end of the row and of these rows three of the cairns are located at the north-east end, the other row is

the double alignment at Butter Brook mentioned above. The presence of a terminal cairn is a common feature of stone rows across Dartmoor. Within the study area it is noted that a number of rows were orientated 'off centre' from the cairn. At the Butterdon Hill row instead of the row joining the outer ring symmetrically the alignment has its origin about a metre west of the centre of the cairn. The double row at Butter Brook has the row orientated west of its centre and as mentioned the single row starts a few metres west of the cairn. The same feature is noticeable at the Corringdon Ball single row, and on present orientations for Cantrell, Brent Fore Hill and Glasscombe Ball North the rows would all be 'off centre' to the east of the cairn. The same feature is recorded at Drizzlecombe row 3 where the alignment is not aligned central with the cairn but is approximately 1-1.5m to the north of the centre of the cairn. On its present orientation the alignment at Drizzlecombe 2 would also be off centre to the north. At Drizzlecombe 1, the southern row, when it becomes single towards the upper end of the row would possibly have met in the centre of the cairn. For Glasscombe Ball North the row barely touches the cairn and raises questions of whether it is an original feature or whether the row possibly continued on past the cairn. At Spurrell's Cross the cairn terminates on the centre of the cairn, Glasscombe Corner is inconclusive as very little survives of the cairn and the multiple rows at Corringdon Ball Complex meet the stone ring along the whole of its south-western edge.

4.3.2 Row Orientation

Butterdon Hill and Spurrell's Cross are orientated north-south. Comparing the orientations of the rows in the Erme and Glaze Valley another distinct feature is noticeable. Within the Erme Valley all four rows have north-south orientations, three of them are single alignments and all are over half a kilometre in length. Butterdon Hill row contains the same features as those in the Erme Valley and its long length, the second longest on Dartmoor, (the Upper Erme Row is the longest and only a kilometre from Butterdon Hill) stretching over the course of Butterdon Ridge gives the impression of a dividing line between the two areas. Of the eight rows with northeast-southwest orientations four are within the Glaze Valley- Brent Fore Hill, two at the Corringdon Ball Complex and Glasscombe Corner. The other four are Glasscombe Ball North located on the summit of the Butterdon Ridge, two rows in the Butter Brook Valley, and Cantrell isolated on the lower south slope of Western Beacon.

Apart from the isolated Cantrell row, the other northeast-southwest orientated rows are almost aligned upon each other to form a processional route over the landscape and create the impression of movement across it. From Brent Fore Hill on the Glaze Valley's eastern edge, then a short distance to the alignments at the Corringdon Ball Complex, onto Glasscombe Corner, up to Glasscombe Ball North and over the summit and down into the Butter Brook Valley, these together form a route approximately two kilometres in length. Even though what appears deliberate may well be wholly accidental, it is interesting that when compared with three of the rows in the Erme Valley the alignments in the study area are much more isolated. All of the rows in the study area are located in their own isolated contexts and none are located near to any enclosures. However, in the opposite valley the rows and enclosures mingle together. Indeed at one, Hook Lake Double Row, it is incorporated into the enclosure (see figure 4.70). Again this may be coincidental and related to the space in which the valley floor of the Erme enabled communities to build their enclosures, but the fact that an enclosure incorporates some of an alignment means that it is chronologically later and so other enclosures are possibly later, though constructed within metres of the row.

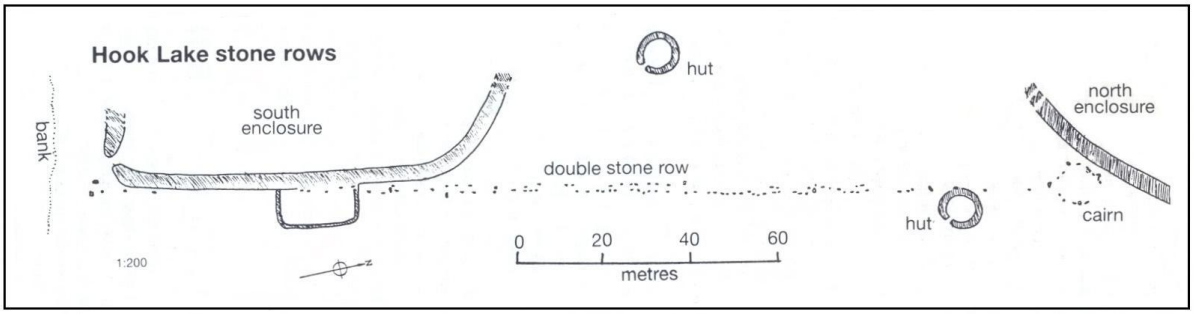


Figure 4.70. Plan of Hook Lake double alignment demonstrating how the alignment has been incorporated into an enclosure (After Butler 1993).

If the enclosure at Burford Down is taken into consideration then a desire to be near to the row seems very important. The area in which the enclosure is located is large enough for it to have been placed further away if desired. Interestingly, the enclosure is not only close to the alignment but also to the only large rock stack in that area, Tristis Rock. Where the Erme Valley alignments would appear to have a close association with enclosures, those in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Valley area are not only isolated from settlements but are in close association with a number of cairns. Glasscombe Corner has at least three other cairns sited nearby as does Spurrell's Cross and Brent Fore Hill is sited close to five cairns and Corringdon Ball Chambered Cairn. The multiple and

single alignments at the Corringdon Complex have five cairns in close vicinity and the two rows at Butter Brook are on the edge of a cairnfield of fifteen cairns. Within Drizzlecombe the rows incorporate both the features recorded at the rows in the Erme Valley and the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Valley. All three rows are within a few hundred metres of the enclosures and cairns associated with the enclosures. There are cairns in close association with rows, as at the upper end of row 1 with five cairns to the south-east and within metres from the terminal cairn. There are also three cairns sited around the menhir of row 2. The area in which the rows are sited forms a focal point for the Middle Plym, highlighting the communal aspect in which the rows possibly existed. People would have seen the ceremonies or activities going on and people walking the rows. It feels 'busy', in the sense that everything is focused into Drizzlecombe and onto you. Indeed from all around the higher surrounding landscape people will see you before you see them. This is a feature that is in contrast to the rows in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area where the rows are not the focal monuments for a wide area as they are at Drizzlecombe. When you walk the rows in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area there is a much more intimate engagement with the monuments and the landscape, you are not being seen by those in the enclosures or looked down upon from above- you are looking out and opening the body out into the world. It has been argued that Early Bronze Age society was highly mobile and evidence suggests "the existence of a culturally specific set of 'occupation practices' in which the relationships between people and places were defined not through permanent attachment to a single locale but through traditions of movement around the landscape" (Brűck 1999: 70). It is this idea that is the central theme regarding interpretation of the rows and cairns. One of movement, and more specifically walking and wayfaring as modes in which people learn to inhabit and belong. Monuments express an attachment to the landscape and to specific locales within that landscape and one in which lifestyle was characterized by being mobile. Although settlements are seen as places of sedantism, as previously suggested the forms of enclosure in the two study areas may be indicative of a pastoral/transhumance existence and therefore possibly a highly mobile way of life.
The above sub headings highlight some of the stone row features and the similarities in their construction and architectural form. Previous studies regarding stone rows have tended to attempt an overall explanation for the use of stone rows that is applicable to them all. However, the problem with placing an overarching use or association for all of the rows is that it fails to consider their individuality and the context in which they are

located. They are highly individual monuments within a collective scheme of inhabiting and creating place and are all employed in different ways reflecting how the rows and landscape were to be engaged and experienced. The location of the terminal cairn has been suggested to be the direction in which movement was orientated. Jo Brunsden, for example (Unpublished MA thesis 2005) focuses on the relation between alignments and water. Her conclusion is that the rows are paths constructed for the dead by the living to guide the ancestors to areas that are crucial for the survival of the living, often towards water. This is an interesting idea as there are stone rows that have a close or direct association with water, such as Brent Fore Hill and the Upper Erme in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area and also Hart Tor double row in the Meavy Valley. However, there are a number of rows that have very little or no link at all with water or water courses. I would like to continue with Jo Brunsden's idea of the rows as paths, not necessarily for the dead, but for the living.

4.3.3 Stone Rows in the Landscape

I think it is possible that stone rows represented paths for the dead to move along, and were part of a way of bringing the dead back to life. The row enabled the spirits a place from which to move back out into the landscape with the cairns acting as places where the dead lived. On certain occasions the living and dead would come together via the rows. By walking them, the living would be in a process of engaging with the dead. In this way movement in both directions is important. For the living to move/walk towards the cairns is the process by which the living come to meet the dead as they move along and away from the cairn. Equally movement may have been away from the cairns. For the living, walking the row from the cairns is part of the process through which the dead are brought back to the living.

It is this ability to walk both directions which I think is important and part of the way people became knowledgeable. As much as the cairns obviously symbolise and represent the dead, I feel the rows are important in how they were part of the way people came to inhabit their landscapes. The areas in which the rows were constructed and are located would have had historical and group/community significance. We do not know whether the cairns came before the rows (where the row terminates off centre this may imply cairns were earlier), or where a menhir is present whether this came

first. However, as they were constructed in specific places these must have had particular significance for those who erected them. Although it is not known in what environment the rows were erected, the fact that they were placed in specific locations supports the suggestion that they had prior significance.

Put simply, stone rows are 'lines' constructed over the landscape in stone. Although this may seem a fairly obvious observation concerning stone rows/alignments, it is from this point that I would like to progress. Central to the interpretation of the rows is their role in the process of movement, and particularly movement of the body by walking in a specific locale, along a fixed route. The rows are paths of movement and it is along these paths of movement that knowledge is learnt and passed on. They are places of sociality and engagement with each other, with the surrounding environment, the past, present and even the future. This is where 'talking whilst walking' provides the basis for engagement and the creation of worlds of knowledge. The very nature of the row being a line is a reflection of movement and growth, and how I refer to the rows as possible reflections or expressions of the future. Knowledge is learnt and part of the process in which people grow and understand the world around them (Ingold 2007: 2). The distance along many of the rows may only be a few hundred metres and for some may not be considered as a "path" *per se*, because a path may for some perhaps be viewed as long and winding, difficult and challenging, leading to somewhere. However, I argue that distance travelled, the time it takes and the effort involved is secondary to the 'affect' that the movement and more precisely the walk along the row has. They are part of an ongoing process of movement over the landscape, one in which the cairns and settlements are incorporated, where life is lived and are the physical and permanent expression of past activities and memories in a fixed and specific locale. The linear form of the row expresses a fluidity of movement from one end to the other. Together the rows and cairns express modes of movement over the landscape- of 'wayfaring' and of 'transport' (Ingold 2000, 2007). Although there are different types of monuments (rows, cairns, settlements), together they work to create and sustain knowledge which is formed as inhabitants move over and along the monuments and landscape (see figure 4.71).

NAME	TYPE	HEIGHT (OD)	LENGTH	DESCRIPTION	Stone Rows Visible	Settlement Sites Visible	Cairns Visible
Brent Fore Hill	Stone Row	320	120	Cairn at upper end; orientated to the south-west	5	4	6
Corringdon Ball 1	Stone Row	310	120	Cairn at upper end; orientated to the south-west	5	4	6
Corringon Ball 2	Stone Row	310	132	Cairn at upper end; orientated to the south-west	3	8	4
Glascombe Corner	Stone Row	300	173	Cairn at lower end; orientated to the south-west	3	9	4
Glascombe Ball North	Stone Row	360	0		3	5	6
Butterdon Hill	Stone Row	360-380	1973	Cairn at southern end; orientated south-north; starts at 360 OD and rises to 380 OD at North end	1	4	6
Spurrell's Cross	Stone Row	350	119	Cairn at upper end; orientated to the south-north	1	7	5
Piles Hill	Stone Row	350-385	865	Orientated west-east	1	1	6
Cantrell Row	Stone Row	230	48	Cairn at upper end; orientated to the south-west	1	1	1
Butter Brook 1	Stone Row	290	198	Orientated South-west	2	3	3
Butter Brook 2	Stone Row	290	25.6	Cairn at lower end; orientated to the south-west	2	3	1

Figure 4.71. Table illustrating the archaeological features visible from the alignments' terminal cairns. Demonstrating their close association.

Wayfaring is a mode of movement 'along' paths of travel and one in which the wayfarer is continually on the move. Travelling is not just an activity of moving from one place to another, but is a way of 'being', as the wayfarer proceeds there is a constant active engagement with the world around them. On the other hand to be transported is to move 'across', to be less engaged and is seen as destination-orientated. To be transported is not so much a development in one's life but rather a movement from location to location of people and goods in a way that their basic natures remain unaffected (Ingold 2007: 77). The wayfarer is seen to have no final destination, for as long as life continues there is always somewhere to go. For the traveller being transported, each destination is an end or point of re-entry into a world from where they have been temporarily exiled (Ingold 2007: 77). Through the practices of wayfaring beings inhabit and create 'inhabitant knowledge', it is by moving 'along' that you learn and the world unravels, opens and closes (Tilley 1994, Ingold 2007). With particular

reference to stone rows I would like to suggest that both modalities of movement can exist side by side. Stone rows are monuments that exist or are part of the wayfarer's wider movement along and through the landscape in which knowledge is learnt, and are themselves an integral part of the wayfarer inhabiting their world. Also, the very nature of the rows predominantly having two terminal ends -one with a cairn and the other a pillar/menhir- also reflect transport and movement from one point to the other and are therefore destination orientated. Movement along the row is one of walking along its length and a specific area of landscape in which one is learning to belong, connect, remember- essentially they form part if an inhabitants 'way of being'. At the same time they are moving across from two connected points where the internal area of the row is a liminal 'space' and the terminal points express a re-entry back into the world. When Ingold writes that the basic natures of people are unaffected by the mode of transport, within the context of the rows the space between the two points is one of learning and engagement, just as movement within a wayfaring mode is a process of inhabiting. The rows are monuments that people constantly re-engage and visit. How you walked the row, from which end is difficult to say and perhaps not overly important. They could well have been walked from both ends. In a number of the rows where the alignments are actually off centre, this further highlights the combination of both modalities of movement. The presence of the cairn is a link with death and literally the 'dropping-off point' and destination for the transported. However, the fact that many are off centre implies a continuation of both the wayfarer learning and becoming knowledgeable. The 'off centre' orientation that a number of the cairns have, I suggest is a reflection that the cairns are not necessarily the end of the row, but is a physical and metaphorical expression of the continuation of life and with this movement. Walking the row and coming to meet the cairn, where the row is orientated 'off centre' reflects a continuation of engagements with the dead and living. The row is part of the wayfarer's (Ingold 2007) embodied engagements with both the surrounding world in which they live and with the memories of the dead. The embodied memories are not closed off in the cairn, but are able to continue on and past the cairn into the open world. Those rows that do meet the centre of the cairn act in a different way and are part of a different scheme through which people come to remember and learn.

4.3.4 Cairns in the Landscape

Cairns across both study areas are found in a number of locations and are of particular interest within the Middle Plym area many have at least one cairn associated with the enclosures. At Drizzlecombe and Shavercombe Tor the cairns, enclosures and independent hut circles all mingle together. The location of cairns, especially in high elevations like the summits of Three Barrows, Eyelesbarrow and Saddlesborough enabled these locations to command distant views off the Moor and also into the interior of the Moor (Tilley 2010). The siting of the cairns on summits of topographically high areas was a way in which groups and individuals came to understand and learn territorial or ancestral attachments to specific areas. These high areas took the dead and lifted them away from the living (Tilley 2010), perhaps only to be visited on certain occasions, by certain people or never at all. Surrounding both the study areas, summit cairns are clearly visible on all the highest summits and form focal points from wherever you are. They are orientating markers and also form a series of intervisible locales over the Moor. Within the areas themselves the cairns vary in size, there are large conspicuous cairns like the ones along Butterdon Hill ridge, Giant's Basin and cairn 18 in Drizzlecombe and the cairns at the Corringdon Ball Complex. Some are very small, such as the cairns in the coombe between Weatherdon and Butterdon Hill, or the satellite cairns around Giant's Basin and the menhir of Drizzlecombe row 2. The rest of the cairns are medium in size and form the bulk of the cairns within both areas. These are found either associated with the terminal ends of rows or very near to them as at Corringdon Ball Complex and Glasscombe Corner, near to or within enclosures as at Drizzlecombe, or on the summits and slopes of the surrounding hills as at Western Beacon, Ugborough Beacon, Willings Walls Warren and Hentor. These cairns are located not out of the way, but within the areas where people lived and walked through the landscape. There is a constant interaction between both cairn and people, both are closely intertwined. They act as visual reference points bringing in distant landscapes, but also referencing older monuments, as with the small cairn next to the Late Neolithic Chambered Cairn at Butterdon Hill. Cairn 2 on Western Beacon looks down onto both Cuckoo Ball and Butterdon Hill Chambered Cairns and there are two Bronze Age cairns sited near to Corringdon Ball Chambered Cairn. These cairns, in a number of situations reference each other, as at cairn 2 Western Beacon where it overlooks the cairns sited at

the eastern end of the saddle, the cairns along Langcombe Book or the cairns placed on the higher local summits on Butterdon Hill Ridge.

Comparing the two areas it is clear that there is a difference in how enclosure/settlement and cairns relate to each other. Although there are two cairns that are suggested to be associated with the Addicombe enclosures there are no sites in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area where the two 'live' together. It is not known whether the cairns came first or the enclosures. However, as previously noted the presence across both study areas of predominantly Pound enclosures would suggest a pastoral/transhumance economy. If populations were involved within a highly mobile lifestyle then such enclosures and dwellings may have been constructed earlier than the Middle Bronze Age, the period in which the Moor was occupied at its highest concentration. With regards to Drizzlcombe it is not known whether the larger cairns of Giant's Basin (cairn 5 Butler 1994) and cairn 18 were constructed before the medium sized cairns and the small satellite cairns around the south-western edge of the Giant's Basin, or the three small cairns sited on the north-western, northern and southern side of the terminal menhir of row 2. It is possible that the larger cairns and rows may well be part of the earliest activity in this area, but what is important is the way in each the enclosures, cairns and rows all share the same area and form a focal point for the surrounding areas to look onto. The dead and living and not separated, indeed the closeness to the enclosures of cairns 15, 16, 17 and especially 18 would imply that it was an important element in the overall construction of the area and it creates and continues its 'placeness', the past and present inhabit together. Movement from enclosure to enclosure and over the area is one where the past ancestors and memories are omni-present. The division between dead and living collapses, the cairns represent houses for the dead and a place to dwell and keep inhabiting with those who are still living. The spirit or memories of the dead are kept living by being near to the living. This can be further suggested by the re-structuring of some of the hut circles into cairns. Butler (1994: 128) notes how two hut circles in separate enclosures appear to have been converted into cairns. The converting of hut circles into cairns has been identified across Dartmoor (Butler 1997) and recent excavations at the site of Bellever in the north of the Moor have also suggested the same activity (A, Crabb pers comm). Dr Andy Jones, of Cornwall Historic Environment Team (2008) has recorded the same features in Cornwall.

The conversion of huts into cairns implies that once dead your spirit/presence would continue to dwell in the same place and with the living. The two being together animates the dead and the experiences and engagements people had with them. The close proximity also works in another way. As mentioned, the Pounds are associated with a pastoral lifestyle and one of movement in seasonal cycles. When the time came to leave, the living being well aware that the dead could not come with them as their presence was literally buried into the landscape they would never the less be seen to watch over and protect the enclosures while they were away. The dead are again kept alive or seen to be living. The areas in which the enclosures and cairns are sited would have had generations and generations living in the same place and were heavy with memories of past experiences. The cairns act to anchor and legitimise a community's place to live. The proximity of cairn and enclosure is noted at a number of sites, but none actually mingle as they do at Drizzlecombe. At Lower Hartor Tor enclosure there is a cairn close to its south-western edge, Giant's Hill enclosure has a cairn uphill and close to the enclosure, Whittenknowles Rocks has a cairn close to the enclosure as do the enclosures at Upper and Lower Hentor. Around the Shavercombe Tor enclosures there are six cairns that are sited in between independent hut circles.

Cairns are part of the wayfarers mode to integrate knowledge of the past, present, memories or territory. The many locations in which cairns are found- from hill summits, saddles between the summits, coombe, and next to river/water courses suggests that they are placed along particular paths of movement, or following Gibson (1979: 197 from Ingold 2007: 88) they exist on 'Paths of observation'. Things will fall out of sight, new views will open up while others become closed off. Thus the knowledge we have of our surroundings is forged in the very course of our moving through -'along'- them, in the passage from place to place and in the changing horizons along the way (Ingold 2007: 227). The locations of the cairns can be viewed as areas in which particular observations are being expressed and anchored as part of an ongoing process of inhabitation and dwelling. Together the rows and cairns are representative of different areas where different memories or practices were related. They represent an 'interlocking-network' or lines of ways through a 'meshwork' (Ingold 2007) of interwoven trails in which life is lived and monuments are specific loci in this 'meshwork'. For example, in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area there is a group of linear arranged cairns sited east to west across a saddle of land between one summit- Western Beacon to the south and another summit, Butterdon Hill to the north.

The saddle is located below the summits and cuts between the two areas from east to west. The location of the saddle cairns may well reflect territorial boundaries and act as markers of one group's territory and the linear arrangement of the cairns is a reflection of a group's ancestral lineage and attachment to that area. Equally, the cairns are representative of paths of movement from one area to another. Their importance or significance is not simply as territorial markers but as manifestations of routes of movement, along which stories and other associations are learnt, taught, shared and act as mnemonic devices. Stone rows act in a similar manner, but instead of acting as mnemonic devices that trigger a particular response, they are paths of knowledge which grows though each experiential engagement.

4.3.5 Enclosures in the Landscape

The enclosures/settlements are found in a variety of locations across both study areas. Within the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area they are located next to water courses, such as the enclosures at Owley, Scad Brook and Glaze Meet. This particular location, at Glaze Meet, may have had significance as the enclosure is sited where the brooks meet and so marks a transitional area. Further upstream ceremonies at the stone rows and the cairns located overlooking the East and West Glaze brooks act as territorial markers of attachment and ancestral rights to the resources. Power is also associated with them, having a purifying effect and keeping the water clean. The location of Brent Fore Hill alignment may have acted in a similar way. The row entering the East Glaze Valley and the stones possibly continuing into the water acted to purify and cleanse it for the enclosures downstream. On the other side of the study area the enclosures of Addicombe not only block movement in and out of the coombe, but are also located in an area associated with water and the flow of water. Enclosure B is sited at the head of the Addicombe and when it rained water would flow down through the coombe and be naturally funnelled by the shape of the coombe. Within the Middle Plym area enclosures are again sited in a number of locations along the river as at Willings Walls Warren and Lower Hartor Tor. Here the tor overlooks another transitional area, the junction of the Plym and Langcombe Brook. The presence of so many cairns along a small tributary may also be marking ancestral connections, but also acting to keep the water clean and pure for the enclosures downstream.

Although found in many locations, all the enclosures are either sited near to or look onto tors or, importantly, they are constructed in or incorporate exposed stone areas. This feature is observed at sites in both areas. In the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley this is recorded at the enclosures of Western Beacon East, Owley B, Butter Brook and the independent huts circles on the northern bank of the East Glaze. This feature is also observed and recorded in the Middle Plym where Guttet Tor enclosure B is located within and amongst the stones. At Whittenknowles Rocks the huts are all located and built within the extensive exposed surface stone which makes it very difficult to walk and move around the site from hut to hut. At the bottom of the clitter stream at Hentor this feature is again observable where one enclosure (C) is located to incorporates an extensive area of exposed stone within its interior (see figure 4.74) and the huts are sited within and amongst the stone. Indeed, as you look out and leave one of the huts that still has a discernable doorway the stone forms the immediate visual and bodily engagement (see figure 4.73). Another enclosure (D) has its walls and huts touching and mingling within the clitter of Hentor (see figure 4.73). At Enclosure B, although the main enclosure is sited away from the area of exposed stone, the wall leaving its edge to the north would have joined a section of walling leaving the surface stone on its south-western edge. This stretch of walling physically connects the two areas together and is like that of an umbilical cord that keeps the two attached and keeps both the enclosure and those living within it alive. Similarly, enclosure B is sited next to the Hentor Brook, and though this was possibly a practical siting it also has life giving properties. The boundary walls of enclosure D surround the clitter of Hentor's eastern edge and act to enclose them and keep their potency within the enclosure. The huts within this enclosure like those at enclosure C are also sited and constructed within an area where the ground is extremely stony.

In the enclosures of Gutter Tor and Whittenknowles Rocks, Butter Brook, Eastern Tor and the Hentor area the stone is not simply a natural element used as a resource for their construction, but was deliberately chosen and altered. Stones would have been moved to make space or clear certain areas and used in the construction of the houses and walls. They are therefore not static natural areas, but having been cleared and altered they become culturally transformed (Bender, Hamilton & Tilley 2007: 217). The granite is the body of the Moor on which the landscape is held up and stands. The areas where it has been exposed in the form of tors, clitter and exposed stone are the bones which form the Moor's body. Living and inhabiting amongst the stones and being able

to see them and experientially engage and feel them was part of a day to day involvement in which the enclosures and huts acted as anchors in the landscape.

4.3.6 The Materiality of Granite

Granite is the material used for construction and is present wherever you look in both study areas and across Dartmoor. In the Middle Plym the local tors form the features that crown the slopes and higher elevations encircling Drizzlecombe, always visible from the enclosures, rows and cairns (see figure 4.65). In turn, the distant tors and hills form a constant presence to the west and around to the north-east (see figure 4.77). In contrast, the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley has only three significant rock outcrops and only one, Beacon Rocks on Ugborough Beacon that forms a focal point. This is not to say that the other areas did not hold some kind of resonance. Hangershell Rocks forms a prominent feature from the cairns along Butterdon Hill ridge and is recorded to have had three standing stones sited on its eastern side. Viewed from the west and looking up from Butter Brook enclosure, the rocky outcrop is skylined on the horizon and there is a stream of large exposed grounders flowing down the eastern side of Butterdon Hill ridge from Hangershell Rock (see figure 4.72). Similary, Sharp Tor forms a prominent feature when looking north and framing the Upper Erme Valley. It has been suggested by Woolner & Woolner (1991) that Sharp Tor was the source of the stones used in the Piles Hill stone row, thus further enhancing the power with which the stone was associated and representing the bodies and bones of ancestors (Boivin 2004).

The hill that forms Ugborough Beacon stands out due to its rounded profile and since like Western Beacon no other hills are in front or behind, its profile is particularly distinct. Situated on the northern end of the hill and on the highest part is Beacon Rocks and next to it another exposed area of granite has been converted into a tor cairn, further emphasising the importance and significance in which the area was regarded and perceived. As mentioned Sharp Tor has a low profile apart from when viewed from the Erme Valley. Beacon Rocks and the tor cairn are constantly on the horizon and look out and over the Glaze Valley and Butterdon Hill Ridge (see figure 4.73).

Figure 4.72 (above). Hangershell Rocks on the horizon from Butter Brook (By author).

Figure 4.73. Looking out north from Ugborourgh tor cairn with Butterdon Hill ridge to the left, Glaze Valley on the right and the high hill of Three Barrows in the distance (By author).

The views afforded from this area would have provided communities, before its conversion into a tor cairn, with extensive views out across the south of Devon, west into Cornwall and over and into Dartmoor. The Neolithic tombs all reference the area, as do the cairns in the Glaze Valley, Butterdon Hill ridge, Western Beacon and the cairns sited on the eastern edge of the saddle. Apart from the Butter Brook rows, every alignment looks onto the tor cairn and Beacon Rocks. The enclosures of Glaze Meet, Glasscombe Corner and Corringdon Ball all look onto Uborough and although the enclosures at Owley are not intervisible with both features, they are constructed at the foot of Ugborough's north face and enclosure B incorporates the clitter that streams down the north face. Though the clitter stone does not come from the Ugborough rocks themselves and is exposed on the slope of the hill, their source is very close to the outcrops and so they were possibly perceived as the source of the all the stone, literally flowing out and away from it much like that of a river/stream. This area would have had considerable significance, power and connection to ancestral myths and stories. Tor cairns are recorded across Dartmoor as well as Bodmin Moor and Tilley (1995, 1996) writes that the enclosing of such powerful and ancestrally connected areas was an expression and exertion of power and control, enclosing the knowledge associated with them and limiting other peoples' ability to access this knowledge and enhancing an individual or groups control. Such a scenario may well have formed the construction of the tor cairn at Ugborough, however with Beacon rocks only 30 metres away may still have represented a place where stories and memories continued to be formed and gathered, still holding communal access to the knowledge associated with it.

Granite is more than simply an enduring and long lasting material which people used. Its incorporation into enclosures, the living within it and moving through it created historical and social frameworks of memorial and bodily (sensory) engagements which become and became embodied through the constant involvement and interaction of body and world. Both are brought together through their use in the stone rows, cairns and enclosures. With specific reference to the stone rows, body and stone are brought together within the monument and experienced through walking them. As suggested, the rows were places in which people walked pathways and in turn gathered in, via walking, knowledge of the landscape and the self. They acted as places/locales that continued to form a person's sense of 'being' throughout their life. Together the rows and landscape have an affective materiality and sociality. Granite marks them out as significant places and anchors them physically into, along and over the landscape

adding a greater depth of bodily involvement. The spacing between the rows may well reflect a prescribed mode of walking in which bodily posture changed by the way a footstep or footsteps was/were taken. For example, at Glasscombe Ball Corner the separation of stones between the single and double parts of the row are different. In the single part the spacing ranges between 2.4-3.2m and when it becomes double the spacing becomes a constant 2.4m (Butler 1993: 36). At the single alignment at Corringdon Ball the spacing is approximately 3m between the stones. All the rows have different spacing between each stone and in some cases this may well be simply due to the survival of some stones in the row. Also, such variation between the stones may well mean that the builders never had any intention of having equally spaced stones. At Cholwichtown, which is the only row to have been excavated, the spaces between the stones vary from less than a metre to several metres. It has been suggested that the stones were not erected consecutively from one end to the other, but were placed into the alignment wherever desired (Butler 1993: 110). Whether the difference in spacing was deliberate or part of a changing monument, the way in which the rows were walked would have been different and in contrast to 'everyday' walking and so emphasised the change and difference in the kinaesthetic experience. Similarly, as noted at Cholwichtown, the variability in stone spacing being a deliberate act reflects the fluidity in which stone rows were perceived. As with those who walk them, the rows change and grow, are added to or even taken away, they had individual personhoods -or 'rowhoods'- in which they are always in a state of growth and changing biography.

The changing and fluid way in which the rows were possibly experienced can be demonstrated in the Glasscombe Corner row. The alignment is one of only two rows that is part single and part double (the other being Drizzlecombe Row 1). The lower north-east part of the row is single with the upper part being double. It is highly probable that this feature represents a change in how the row was to be experienced and that its design was not pre-determined, but was changed and added to. Emmett (1979) has suggested this to be applicable to stone rows in general. However, what is observed at Glasscombe Corner row is not recorded at any other row in either area or even outside the study areas. The stones used in either part are dramatically different and provide two very different experiential engagements and separately defined features. The single part is approximately 60m long and the stones used along it are larger pillar/column in shape and very rough to touch. They are composed of larger feldspar crystals up to 2-3cm in length and their pink/white colour means they stand out against

the grey of the granite and contrast with the smaller translucent mica crystals. Weathering has also meant the feldspar crystals stand out from the main body of the stone and this may well have been a deliberate choice (see figure 4.74). The stones in the double part of the row are smaller and have much more rounded profiles and less formal and regular pillar/column forms. They appear more organic in their form and the stones are much smoother with no feldspar crystals but have only mica crystals as the inclusions and so sparkle and glitter in the light (see figure 4.75). Another interesting feature that further emphasises the deliberate nature of the way in which the stones were chosen, and possibly suggesting a continuation in the row's growth, is the use of a rounded and smooth but pillar shaped stone where the row changes from single to double (see figure 4.76). The stone not only acts as a transitional marker of change from single to double, but also incorporates all the elements from both parts. Its large size, pillar shape and its being unpaired references the single part, and its rounded organic profile, smooth granite with only mica inclusions references the double part. Such a feature of changing elements in the stone may reflect the bringing in of different stone from different areas in the valley, although such variation was not recorded in any distinct areas over the Glaze Valley where there is a fairly equal distribution of coarse and fine grained granite. Therefore, this may represent the stones being brought in from further afield, or the researcher's lack of geological knowledge!

Figure 4.74. Stone in the single part with its distinct pink colour, rough and coarse texture and pillar shape (By author).

Whether the stones were from within the Glaze Valley or beyond, what is clear is that the synaesthetic experience was very different in each part of the row and provided a contrasting bodily experience while walking the two parts of the row. I would further like to suggest that the way the body actually came to touch the stones may well have been through the legs. In all the stone rows, apart from Piles Hill, the stones used are small and for an adult are not higher than the knee. Again their height may well represent a change in body posture, from normal upright to bending down in order to touch the stones with your hand. This movement of bodily experience is in contrast to everyday bodily posture and so the experience stands out in opposition. As I suggest, the rows are representative of a wayfarer's (Ingold 2000, 2007a, 2010) mode of movement in which knowledge grows and is embodied through walking. Therefore, through walking knowledge is learnt and the world experienced (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008, Tilley 2010) and it is through the legs and feet that locomotion and so perception and experience is gained. Just as the rows represent movement and walking, the stones represent what the body walks through, over and in, the body inhabits with the granite. To walk the rows is to feel the stones in the row with the very legs that form part of the bodily engagement with the landscape and gathers in those experiences. Through the legs we are continually, and especially if bare foot, intimately involved with the world around us.

Figure 4.75. Stone in the single part showing its formal almost worked profile and the stones qualities. Looking south-west up the row (By author).

As mentioned only Piles Hill stone row has large stones used in its construction and may represent an earlier Neolithic form of stone row (Fyfe & Greeves 2010). Also, the size of the stones, which are much larger and 'people sized' equally reflects a different synaesthetic and kinaesthetic experience than the later and smaller Bronze Age rows. The stones are suggested to have come from Sharp Tor (Woolner & Woolner 1991) and in many ethnographic studies rock outcrops and sources of stone are seen as the remains of petrified ancestors (Boivin 2004, McBryde 1997, Parker-Pearson & Ramilisonia 1998, Taçon 1990, 2004). This may well have informed the use of the stones in the Piles Hill row where ancestral connections were associated with Sharp Tor and the size of the stones represents the bodies of the dead. They become anthropomorphised and carry with them the essence and presence of the dead. While the smaller stones used in the other alignments within the study areas reflects a certain part of the body; the legs, where interaction occurred, with Piles Hill it is a whole bodily engagement and the size of the stones being similar to that of a person enables a bodily interaction that is the same between two living people. If the Piles Hill row is also earlier then it also possibly represents two contrasting and changing ways of experiencing the rows from the Neolithic and Bronze Age.

Figure 4.76. The smooth granite pillar that marks the change from single to double and the different granite used in its course. The Corringdon Complex area is visible in the top right corner of the photo (By author).

The same can also be suggested for the menhirs at the ends of Butterdon Hill row and the three at Drizzlecombe. The Butterdon Hill row menhir's location makes it visible from the north at Sharp Tor and it would also have been visible from the south (when standing upright). It too may well have come from Sharp Tor 1.5km to the north and was possibly part of a process in which the living were bringing the ancestors out into the landscape to be seen and interacted with. As Worth suggests, the menhirs at Drizzlecombe may have come from Higher Hartor 1km to the east. All four are unworked with the Butterdon Hill row menhir much more rounded in profile than those at Drizzlecombe which although unworked have a regular, formal appearance with tapered tops and appear to have been worked or ancestrally pre-carved (Tilley 2004a: 37). This is particularly relevant for the large menhir at Drizzlecombe row 2. As mentioned, the distinct 'bulb' on its western face and at the top of the stone gives the impression of a head and one that is looking up the row and the Upper Plym Valley (see figure 4.77). The three satellite cairns are all sited to take full advantage of this feature and the distinct potency of the stone on that specific face. This menhir is also visible from the areas of Calveslake, Lower Hartor cairn and the Langcombe Book-Plym Junction. The stones are not visible, but the menhir is and further emphasises its presence as marking the area where the row is located. With its anthropomorphic form it brings the row to life, a line of thought that follows Tilley's observations in North Devon (2010: 335) where the size of stones used in the Exmoor settings are very small and although the areas are intervisible the stones are not. Tilley (2010) comments that people, rather than the stones form the monuments and reveal their location, and bring the monuments into being. The stones in the rows of the Drizzlecombe area are also small, and not visible from a distance.

However, the menhirs are, and were possibly perceived as the bodies of ancestors that are marking both Drizzlecombe and the rows, bringing them into life and constantly animating them and bringing them into 'being'. The same can also be suggested for other rows within the study areas where the small sizes of the stones are not visible until people walk them or are near to them. When brought together there is a reciprocal relationship where the stones and monuments are brought to life by the living walking them, and in turn the rows and granite provided people with places and experiences where the stories, myths and memories become embodied through the materiality of the monuments and granite. This is particular noticeable at Butter Brook single row- where

once people walked and followed the row into the clitter it became animated and re-experienced (see figure 4.36).

Figure 4.77. Terminal Menhir of row 2, visible from Claveslake tor and cairn and showing the distinct ‘bulb’ facing up the row and the Plym Valley (By author).

4.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has aimed to provide a detailed topographic description of both areas and how the archaeology is placed within it. The archaeology uses and references the ‘natural’ character and personality of the topography, and provided people with an ontological understanding of how to get on in the world and how they formed a sense of ‘self’ through inhabiting -dwelling and walking- in the landscape. The specific resources of water, hill, saddle, coombe, valley, ridge, granite were fundamental in providing the specific contexts in which social relations and identities were created, re-created and embodied. The cairns, hut circles and enclosures, where in close association, were places of habit and routine that created and sustained familiarity and a sense of ease, where the dead and living inhabited the world together and continued social relations. The rows and cairns that are sited away from enclosures would either have been visited on certain occasions through ceremony or were passed and visited on regular occasions and the places in which they were located would bring in distant views or specific areas. Overall, while the granite provided the physical properties of

hardness and durability, it also informed the way in which people embodied experiences and the landscape.

This chapter has focused on how; landscape, archaeology and the body's engage with each other through a focus on the importance on walking and a total bodily immersion are part of the process in how experiential engagement's are vital in how people come to inhabit construct 'placeness'. The following chapters (5&6 respectively) focus on contemporary bodily experiential engagements and how the body and movement, specifically walking in a number of cases, is central to how place-making, memories, experiences and perception become embodied by considering the issues of materiality and agency. The focus is one of bodily immersion within the world of Dartmoor, one where the sensuous body is key in how people become knowledgeable about the Moor from the 'inside'.

Part III: Perspectives on Dartmoor: ‘Affectual’ Engagement: Body and Dartmoor.

Chapter 5

Methodology part 2: Perspectives on Dartmoor

'Affectual' Engagement: Body and Dartmoor

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate, using data from the unstructured interviews, how the body and movement, specifically walking in a number of cases, is central to how place-making, memories, experiences and perception become embodied by considering the issues of materiality and agency. The focus is one of bodily immersion within the world of Dartmoor, one where the sensuous body is key in how people become knowledgeable about the Moor from the 'inside' (Tilley 2008). That is, they are involved with the materiality of Dartmoor and grow with it in both the present, as mentioned becoming knowledgeable, and the past; memories of past engagements become re-collected and form part of the temporal changes of peoples' physicality -their changing bodies- and also their personhood -who they are. The experiences they have become stronger over time and grow in strength and influence future plans or involvements with Dartmoor. I use the word 'grow' to highlight the way social relations are constructed between people and the Moor -each grows together always in flux, never static. This may be changing moods in peoples' emotions reflected through the seasons/weather, or physical changes in peoples' bodies, or changes in the Moor's vegetation or reduction of animals -as is increasingly happening. They mark the temporality of people and landscape, both changing and growing old, although of course in the case of the granite this is a very slow process.

I similarly use the word 'world' to denote a place separate and different. Dartmoor is of course hugely different to the rest of Devon in its geological and topological characteristics. However, I also would like to demonstrate views from the interviews how it is a world where people embody many different experiences that are in opposition to their everyday life or form and construct a closer attachment to the place that is Dartmoor. For example the archaeology for one of the farmers is part of an act of remembering, but also furthers his attachment to the farm as a 'place'; "I can remember finding my first arrowhead two fields up from here and that got me started into collecting anything I could find on the farm and my collections built up from everything I find on the farm. My idea is that it should stay here on the farm, a lot of people say I

should give it to a museum or give it to Parke (where the parks headquarters are), my argument is 'No' this is where it belongs because, it's part of the farm (Jeremy, retired dairy farmer, 2006). Within the short quote there are a number of issues highlighted. The finding of Jeremy's first arrowhead and his telling me how he remembers finding it is not simply an act of remembering cognitively, but it is a bodily emotional response triggered by the physical act of finding and picking the arrowhead up, the sensuous embodiment of a memory. Also, Jeremy describes where the arrowhead was found, "two fields up from here", "here" being the house where the interview was carried out. Though not the context specific location that any archaeologists would want, no doubt he could take you to the specific spot if asked. This in itself adds a further bodily dimension to remembering where the whole body and senses are involved in the process of re-collecting and re-engaging with where the arrowhead was found. The location where it was found further adds to the presence of that field as a place further adding to the materiality of the artefact. If we were to see the field, it would probably be to us a roughly square green patch of land, but for Jeremy it becomes further 'placial' due to the discovery of the arrowhead and the bodily involvement in finding it. No doubt each time he would have walked the field after that act of discovery and memory becomes again, bodily enacted. The many artefacts that Jeremy has found add a historical and temporal dimension to the farm-place, a dynamism of people in the same area increasing the materiality of the field and artefacts. Together, the finding of the artefacts and the artefacts themselves become part of the dwelling and biography of the farm. Jeremy's strong feeling that the finds should stay with the farm not only adds a placial context to the finds themselves, but the finds become immersed in the growth of the farm, not as a physical economic unit but one thick and heavy with memories, movement, people and emotions.

5.2 Materiality and Forming Contemporary Social Relations

The above is a brief example of how the interview data will highlight particular issues, and brings to light the issue as mentioned, of materiality. Earlier on, at the start of the chapter and indeed in the title I simply use the word 'Dartmoor' and refer to it as "the world of Dartmoor". I have explained the use of the word 'world' and here I quantify what I mean by Dartmoor. By referring to Dartmoor I am concerned with the very materiality of the Moor, which is the way people have formed and continue to

form social relations with the Moor. Essentially it is about how engagements affect human conduct, both enabling and empowering peoples' lives and constructing them (Tilley 2007b: 19), or as the title says 'Affectual Engagement'. Recently the concept of materiality has been criticised, notably by Ingold (2007b) who argues that the idea of materiality is an 'illusion' (Ingold 2007a: 6) and that focus should be placed on the materials of things "I can touch the rock whether of a cave wall or of the ground underfoot and can thereby gain a feel for what rock is like as a material" (Ingold 2007b: 7). Ingold applies James Gibson's (1979) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* as the methodological approach to how best to study experience and perception of the world via the components of medium, substance and surface. I shall briefly outline the approach which Ingold proposes and offer an alternative. Using interview data I would like to demonstrate support for Ingold's claim that we need to study and consider the materials and their affordances, but also how such affordances are not simply physical properties, they are themselves fundamental in how people embody experiences -'gather in'- and bring out -memories- via their immersion and involvement with Dartmoor.

5.2.1 Embodying Physical Properties: Materiality and Agency/Efficacy

As I was alluding to earlier, Dartmoor and its materiality is part and parcel of the social lives of many people, and through interviews and engaging with them you learn to understand how their social lives are formed. I agree, as do other more experienced writers (Tilley 2007, Knappett 2007) that it is important and vital to study the materials of objects or things, their physical attributes, as these will enable to understand elemental associations. However, for Ingold the study of materiality is pointless because we cannot touch materiality (Ingold 2007b: 7). Therefore, following Gibson (1979), who pays little or no attention to the notion of materiality (Knappett 2007), the focus for inhabitants is through the affordances offered by the medium, substances and surfaces in which the body is immersed or *enwined* (Ingold's emphasis 2007, 2010). The medium in which human beings exist is normally air, this enables us to breathe and so live, and also affords movement as there is little resistance and so we are able to do things, make things and touch things (Ingold 2007b: 4). Air as a medium also transmits radiant energy -light- and mechanical vibrations so we can hear and see, through this

medium we are also able to smell as the molecules that are the basis for this are diffused within it. So air as a medium affords movement and perception (Ingold 2007b: 4). A substance is many kinds of things and predominantly solid; so rock, soil, wood, brick. These substances are resistant to easy movement and so form the furnishings of the world, we can stand on them but not move easily through them (Ingold 2007b: 5). Finally, between the two, medium and substance, is surface. The surface as an interface between the two is where radiant light is reflected, heat absorbed, where vibrations occur and importantly where the body meets by touching and feeling (Ingold 2007b: 5). Surfaces all have certain properties and these are, a relatively persistent layout, a degree of resistance to deformation and disintegration, a distinctive shape and a characteristically non-homogenous texture (Ingold 2007b: 5). The surface is therefore an important place of interaction, experience and perception, via kinaesthesia. Also surfaces are 'infinitely variegated', with changes in contour, and changes of colour and texture in their substance (Ingold 2010: 125). It is thus a 'composite' of many interweaving different materials with their own specific qualities and in turn is always in a state of flux or 'continuous generation' (Ingold 2010: 125).

So the three components have a fundamental and active role in our lives and Ingold further demonstrates this "like all creatures we as humans do not exist on the 'other side' of materiality but swim in an ocean of materials. To acknowledge our immersion in this ocean reveals to us, not the bland homogenized world of different shades of matter, but a flux in which materials of the most diverse kinds -via processes of admixture and distillation, of coagulation and dispersal, and of evaporation and precipitation- undergo continual generation and transformation. The forms of things, far from having been imposed without upon an inert substrate, arise and are born along -as indeed we are too- within this current of materials" (Ingold 2007b: 7). The very active nature which Ingold prescribes to materials and the surrounding world, and one in which the body is immersed is very important as it is necessary to see things as active and changing, always in flux. Regarding Dartmoor and its materials, its physical properties or its substances -the granite, the hills, bog/mires, woods and river (although this can be all three components, although as a medium we cannot breathe in it but we can move over and in it) -are vital in understanding how perception and experience are formed and added to this a consideration of the seasons and weather (Ingold 2007c, 2010) we can get a fuller understanding of the many elements of the world in which humans 'act in' and are 'acted upon'. But, to leave it like that would seem a very barren

world of experience and engagement. It would also appear that the world is not peopled or animaled or marked by past actions, so to the physical attributes I would add the sheep, ponies, cattle, birds, archaeology (monuments and portable) and footpaths that can themselves be studied as materials and which are clearly involved with the lives of humans, especially when considering sheep, cattle and ponies (this is detailed in the chapter on Representations).

With specific focus on a landscape study, to consider its constituent elements/properties, for example geological or animal, it is to investigate and understand how the historical, social and temporal contexts grow between inhabitants and the world. It is important to consider and study the material physical attributes of the objects (or things) as this can in turn provide an understanding of elemental associations. As Ingold notes on Gibson "there are surfaces of all sorts" (Ingold 2007b: 5) and these properties of the surfaces are full of potentials. They are where vibrations pass onto the medium, where radiant light is reflected or absorbed, they have distinctive shapes and is what the body comes up against (Ingold 2007b). If we are to study the three together, medium, substance and surface, we are able to not only study their changing attributes or essence, but placed in a relational context with people it is possible to understand how their synaesthetic and kinaesthetic properties 'affect' human perception, experience and embodiment -or possible perception, experience and embodiment when dealing with the past. These affectual engagements will animate and give a presence to the object (thing) which will provide affordances and constraints for thought and action (Tilley 2007: 10). This is how I intend to use and apply the concept of agency or efficacy, and I intend to return to it in more detail later. I would like to highlight with the following examples how a focus on granite as one of the Moor's enduring physical features is not simply part if its physical characteristic -a substance- but part of influencing peoples' social engagement with the Moor.

5.2.2 Granite's Agency/Efficacy

Granite is a hard and slow weathering rock and is the geological base of Dartmoor. Its uses are found in the prehistoric remains from stone circles to roundhouses, medieval longhouses, stone crosses and the number of dams used to hold back the reservoirs that water the surrounding lowland areas. Perkins writes (1972: 19) "the Tor and Quarry granite really gave birth to Dartmoor" and Owen a park employee comments "it's a

granite landscape, granite has this kind of way of effecting both the natural landforms and man-made landforms and the whole story boils back to the granite (Owen, Park employee, 2006). Neither quote may seem overly profound and indeed Owen's quote closely follows the approach of studying just the materials and how this forms experience note the way he comments that granite has a way of 'effecting' the particular forms. Equally, it demonstrates how granite as a material 'brings out' and highlights particular features which people engage with. Both quotes highlight the social, historical and geological context of Dartmoor's creation. Where Perkins, a geologist, is talking about the Tor and Quarry granite he is referring to the different properties of the two granites and their formation by the gases, fluids, steam and nearness to the roof (roof being distance to the open environment) in which they were formed and created the different types of granite. One type produced the distinctive tors which are one of the distinct features of Dartmoor, the other produced quarry granite which in turn brought industry and saw the granite quarried and taken to places such as Exeter and London where it was used in the construction of the nineteenth century London Bridge opened in 1831. Indeed, this basic and brief interpretation could also follow a Latourian study of networks and associations. This not my intention, not because I have anything against network approaches, but because I would like to focus on the way that through the granite Dartmoor is seen to have been born, both naturally and culturally. The same is true for Owen when he says the "whole story boils back to the granite" and the ways in which it effects the natural and man-made forms. The granite as a material is hard and enduring, but both examples demonstrate how a temporal consideration of its 'becoming' places the two, granite and Dartmoor, in a recursive relationship.

This is further emphasised by Matt, "Dartmoor is very very distinct, and the other thing about it which I find very attractive is that, it's, because of its granite, which is such an enduring material anyway, and unlike Exmoor which isn't granite, you're living in a place that is old, which is a simple phrase but it is an old landscape and you can see its age that's the beauty of it. You actually, if you have a keen eye can see layer upon layer of history and that's because of the granite and I think that's fantastic. That's not so obvious elsewhere, I think the granite has had a lot to do with this landscape." (Matt, Photographer, 2006). The granite is more than simply a material, although Matt does mention that granite is an enduring material, but it is this fact that provides Matt with the experience and engagement with "an old landscape". The granite provides a time depth, as do the quotes by Owen and Perkins that enables the body to engage and

become immersed with that sense of age which is materialised by the granite. Being able to "see layer upon layer of history" can be seen as comparable to Merleau-Ponty's concept of perception where the body intertwines vision and movement, sight and touch, and sight is like touch (Merleau-Ponty 1993 from Tilley 2008: 25). What I am suggesting is that following Merleau-Ponty (1973 from Tilley 2008) in *The Visible and the Invisible* human experience is articulated in relation to the union of the visible and the invisible (Tilley 2008: 25). Where Merleau-Ponty is referring to painting, where a colour, for example, concretises a field of visibility, it summons up a hidden depth of the thing uniting the visible and the invisible (Tilley 2008: 25). Therefore I would suggest that the granite is the visible and the invisible is the depth of time and layer upon layer of history. The granite brings out the experience of an old landscape and gives depth to the world of Dartmoor. Similarly, this sense of depth via the granite is expressed by Richard, a farmer when he says; "If you're talking about Dartmoor, the roots of Dartmoor is granite, really hard place to farm. It is a hard place, you have to go with the seasons, you have to wait for spring to warm into summer, you have to all the time be protecting yourself and looking forward, not going against it (Richard, farmer, 2006).

Where Matt's quote is related to the eye and vision, Richard's quote provides a total bodily immersion within Dartmoor and not with just the granite, but with the changing seasons and the affect and agency this has on the way farming is carried out on the Moor. I will start where Richard says that "the roots of Dartmoor is granite" and draw an analogy with Ingold (2000, 2010) where when we look at a tree or plant what we see is only part of it, we do not see the roots moving through the soil bringing in nutrients and literally 'rooting' the plant or tree. Now of course the granite is not providing nutrients for growth, but it does afford everything to grow and move on it. Like the tree or plant all we see are the tors or clitter that have been left due to weathering and time, but below the soil is the granite and this is 'rooted' and part of how you dwell on Dartmoor, it is part of the place of the Moor. Richard says "It's a really hard place to farm. It's a hard place". Physically it's hard, the granite is hard, the soils are thin and lacking in nutrients, to make a living through farming is very difficult. If we were to consider a medium, substance and surface approach, the phrase "It's a hard place" would seem to be contrary to this, especially if as we know air as the medium is not hard, but forms part of the Moor. But, to focus on all three and how together the medium as air in which the weather as a surface acts (Ingold 2010) and the toughness

and difficulty in farming that is caused by the granite, the materials become affective and act on Richard. As Richard says you have to go with the seasons and all the time protecting your-self. The materiality of the materials has an agency that enables but also constrains his thoughts and actions. The affordances of the materials demonstrate the very materiality of the affordances and shows that people do not think about or react to the natural world in any way they like (Tilley 2007: 19).

Where Ingold would disagree with the idea that the weather, seasons and granite could have any form of agency -"magical mind dust" (Ingold 2007b: 11)- and act upon people, I would suggest that the example of Richard would point to the fact that together the material components do act upon Richard and his actions. I would not suggest that the agency of the weather, seasons, granite and Dartmoor induces Richard to do things that he might not otherwise do (Ingold 2007b: 11). What I would suggest is that agency is the meaning provided by affordances and constraints for thought and action (Tilley 2007: 19). Together, Richard and the constituent elements of Dartmoor's materiality are part and parcel of each other's lives and the materiality of the affordances that also enable Richard to farm are part of his sociality of inhabiting Dartmoor.

With the following examples I aim to further demonstrate how the material properties of Dartmoor, such as the archaeology, landscape or topography and seasons and weather are active components in providing a materiality to Dartmoor and one that informs the embodiment of memories, emotions and peoples' actions. The focus will be on the bodily immersion within the materials and one that is primarily a moving body and specifically walking.

5.3 Walking, Embodiment and Materiality

Walking is the activity that all the interviewees have in common. From the interviews you discover the many different reasons why they walk/ramble on the moor. This can be for exercise, pleasure or as part of their life, for example farming. On face value walking/rambling Dartmoor is simply a form of exercise, a pleasurable activity, leaving the urban world behind and "escaping" for a few hours. What becomes interesting is how walking/rambling on Dartmoor is part of a bodily, sensual, memorial and physical engagement with the moor's past, present, weather/seasons and topography that are part of a process of place-making through movement. Walking brings out the very

materiality of the landscape and its many elements, due to the body being immersed within the features of the world the walk becomes a way to embody experience. Embodiment comes from a body-on-the-ground and a body-in-the-air (Ingold 2010).

5.3.1 Learning Through Your feet: Walking and Inhabiting

Before considering movement and place-making, I very briefly would like to draw attention to the differing associations that both walking and rambling have. Already, within the first paragraph by separating the two words I have drawn particular distinctions between the two even though they are both the same activity -one of locomotion using the feet and legs. Even though the same process, both words are used in quite differing contexts and forms of locomotion, which in turn influence the way engagement and embodiment with the world occurs. To ramble is to go where ever one would like to go, it brings with it a sense of engagement, pleasure, freedom, unorganised, associated with an environment that holds no barriers and the ability to wander, whether this be in an open landscape such as Dartmoor or in the mind -or even an essay- it is more an 'idea'. Rambling has an association with the 'Great Outdoors', but as much as walking is also associated with the outdoors it covers a wider range of contexts; urban, rural, work place and brings with it associations to behave in a certain way, follow a certain course, to conduct oneself in the correct manner; "walk in a straight line, no messing about!" People walk to work, walk to the shops, walk to school, a walk is a means to an end, a process. For the following both to walk and to ramble will be considered as the same process; that is walking as the tactile, feet-first, experiential engagement with the world (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008).

It is through our feet in contact with the ground that we are continually 'in touch' with our surroundings/environment (Ingold 2004), walking is the direct engagement with our surroundings and part of the process in which we acquire knowledge of those surroundings and a deep connectedness; "I walked across it a couple of years ago with my sister, and it was the first time that I sort of felt very close to the land of my birth." (Julie, felt maker, 2006). Julie was born in Norway and moved to Devon where she would regularly visit Dartmoor as a child. We were talking about how she came to live in Chagford and on the Moor, when the conversation began to focus on the landscape of Dartmoor and Norway. She still has a deep connection with Norway and visits her brother who had moved back. However, it was walking across the country, her bodily

involvement that created a deeper attachment. The walk was a way to fuse the past when she left as a child, the present and future as she continues to go back and visit her brother. Also the walk was a gathering of the various synaesthetic experiences of smellscapes, touchscapes, visionscapes and tastescapes, the walk is essentially a social encounter with Norway, its topography and life (Tilley 2008a). In '*Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot'*, Ingold & Lee Vergunst (2008) highlight the work of Elizabeth Curtis that focuses on taking primary school children by foot on educational outings around a city's architectural heritage. At various locations the children stop and record observations relating to the tactile, auditory and visual experiences (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008). However, the observations are made when stationary and not on the move, thus the act of walking becomes regarded as a means of locomotion to get from A to B (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008: 4). Using data from the interviews, I aim to demonstrate how the body and Dartmoor as an entity, its materiality -both its physicality and 'being'- are closely intertwined and activities such as walking the Moor are part of an embodied engagement that initiates responses from the senses that triggers multiple experiences, memories and meaningful places.

5.3.2 Getting Started

Walking is an individual and group activity, a way of being introduced to new surroundings, renewing a connection with a once familiar area, or with acquiring knowledge. It is a social activity where social relations are constructed with other people, animals and the surroundings in which you may find your-self. The act of walking/rambling on Dartmoor is part of a sensual engagement with the moor, its topography, its past, its weather. There is a strong historical context of walking on Dartmoor, "paths led from Appledore and Bideford (North Devon) across Dartmoor to Plymouth (South Devon) and of course people had to walk that path to go to the States, you walked four days before you could get on your boat at Plymouth. The amount of walking people have done in the past." (Jo, Dartmoor poet, 2006). The landscape is criss-crossed by paths many with recorded histories back to the 12th and 13th centuries, marked by granite crosses and given names such as the Abbots Way linking the various monasteries located on the edges of Dartmoor in towns like Buckfastleigh. In the 13th century the Perambulation of the Forest of Dartmoor is recorded and involved the Sheriff of Devon and twelve knights appointed by the King Henry III to walk a

boundary perambulation of the Forest of Dartmoor itself a Royal hunting ground in order to confirm how much land was under the jurisdiction of his brother Richard of Cornwall. The boundary that was drawn up incorporated a number of natural and prehistoric features. In 1609 the perambulation was undertaken again and in 1982 'The Ancient Boundary Walk of Dartmoor' was started and takes in every aspect of the Moor from tors, rivers, bogs and prehistoric archaeology. This in itself is very interesting and reflects the importance that through walking you walk the past into present, through the moving body you are walking yourself into the landscape, your feelings and emotions and gaining a participatory understanding of the materiality of the Moor, this is very much the *The Phenomenological Walk* highlighted by Tilley (2008a).

In my own fieldwork, walking was the primary and fundamental process in which I gained experience of the landscape in which I was researching. Having walked, horse ridden, stayed on and visited Dartmoor for a large proportion of my life going to undertake my fieldwork was the renewing of a connection -memories, experiences- which I had grown up with, so becoming involved or 'Getting Started' had been a process that began many years ago. However, this involvement was with a particular area of the moor, at a particular season (usually Summer) and during particular periods of my growing -as a young child I would usually be accompanied by an adult when out on the moor and it would be unlikely that I would walk during times of heavy rain and mist. Therefore, the period of my fieldwork would be the time I truly became experienced with Dartmoor. The above demonstrates not only a renewing of connections, but also the temporal changes in which my body and involvement with Dartmoor have gone though and the temporality of the engagements and experiences in which I remember and create new ones.

The areas that I chose for study were unfamiliar spaces of which it would take time to gain a practical understanding; what is where, how long it will take to get to them, how does it relate to another area? At first maps, plans and books gave me an idea of the steepness of slopes via contours on the maps and the heights of hills. Plans of the monuments in which I was to study provided data on orientation and size of the monuments. Books introduced me to the fauna and flora of Dartmoor and who had previously investigated a monument and when that monument had been investigated previously. So, in this way I had gained/acquired a rudimentary knowledge of the areas that I was to study. However, this knowledge was a two dimensional construction, one divorced or separated from the ground, the real experiential knowledge would be gained

from movement and my bodily involvement with the topography, weather, seasons, archaeology and overall 'Dartmoor'. Following Jo Lee Vergunst (2004) who uses Heidegger's (1978) example of a bridge as a gatherer of locale and how the bridge affords movement bringing two areas together and "establishes new connectivities" (Lee Vergunst 2004: 2), movement -walking through the landscape- of both study areas is part of a process of not simply gaining practical understanding of the surroundings but is part of a bodily and sensual engagement with the Moor. Just as the moor can be seen as a locale that gatherers in-the same as the bridge- the body becomes a locale as well gathering sensory experiences, knowledge and the creation of a personal biography with you and the moor, creating new connections.

Through the feet and legs, and not simply vision, I gained first hand -or perhaps 'first foot'- knowledge of the Moor. At first the routes that I took were tentative steps into an unfamiliar area, following, where possible, trackways that had been laid down for industrial activity (mining) or well worn paths that previous walkers or animals had travelled along. Over time and through increased engagement, familiarity grows and with it confidence, the map gets left behind, walking in, around, over the monuments and study areas becomes part of building up a biography with what is increasingly becoming a place. Through the everyday involvement with the moor my body posture learns to adapt to immediate changes in the physical environment and compensates for sudden dips or boggy areas that the eyes do not see. The embodied patterns of walking in a specific way have been learnt and remembered from the last encounter, each slip, trip and mistake is part of 'becoming–aware' of my everyday environment (Lee Vergunst 2008: 108) gaining a sensuous knowledge with the landscape in which I walk. Walking becomes a process in which my personhood comes to learn how to deal and cope with a new physical environment (Shilling 1993: 12, form Lee Vergunst 2004: 4), walking reflects both learning and remembering (Lee Vergunst 2004: 4).

Dartmoor holds a constant presence within the area of South Devon and from Plymouth -where the majority of the ramblers interviewed lived- Dartmoor forms a contrasting landscape from sea and lowland; "Well I'm Plymouth born and bred; I would be able to see Dartmoor from my garden. We didn't have a car so getting out was difficult, but I used to cycle out from about the age of thirteen/fourteen. Dartmoor's just always here, this back drop to Plymouth, when the snow was there you'd never get snow in Plymouth but there'd be snow on the moor and you would want to go and see

it, so we did! A group of us would cycle up there after school to Sheepstor and Vixen Tor and just enjoy ourselves." (Stephen, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

"I've always lived in Plymouth and we used to go out with the family on to the edges of the moor, like around Roborough Down in the Burrator area. The first real walk on the moors was when I went to secondary school. We did a walk in to the moors a bit more, I can't remember the exact route, I think we ended at Princetown. Being my first walk it seemed quite adventurous you know! Then after that I had one or two friends and we went on pretty good walks" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

For both Stephen and Ian a biographical association with Dartmoor came from an early age. For Stephen wanting to see and experience snow settled on the ground -which is rare in Plymouth- took him and his friends up on to the moor; "you'd never get snow in Plymouth but there'd be snow on the moor and you would want to go and see it, so we did" (Stephen, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Similarly he commented on how he was able to see Dartmoor from his garden and how "Dartmoor's just always here, this back drop to Plymouth" (Stephen, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). For Ian, visiting the moor with his family and to specific areas like Roborough Down and the Burrator area are some of his earliest memories and experiences of the moor and with particular reference to Burrator becomes a further embodied engagement with the memory of his mother after her death; a point I will return to later. Ian remembers his "first *real* walk" with his secondary school and how being his "first walk it seemed quite adventurous" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Being away from the urbanscape of the city, from a familiar part of the moor as the walk took them to a different area from which he and his family visited and being out on the open moor with new and different views, features and overall the unknown, reinforces the sense of adventure and exploration that from a young age fuelled his interest in Dartmoor and walking; "after that I had one or two friends and we went on pretty good walks" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). For both of them Dartmoor becomes a socialising place; with the moor itself and their friends. Walking for Ian and his friends becomes a shared bodily engagement with the environment of the moor and sharing the same experiences. For Stephen and his friends, the snow and cycling up to the moor, visiting the tors become embodied experiences which he carries with him for the rest of his life; "I left Plymouth for about twenty-five years and when I would come down I would always go and visit it, and when I moved

back I started walking it and loving it and just getting away from people" (Stephen, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

For many of the other interviewees an involvement with Dartmoor came about due to circumstance, they happened to move down to Plymouth and wanted to walk somewhere and Dartmoor provided that opportunity. Although some didn't feel quite as comfortable, "When I first came to Dartmoor I hated it, I bloody hated it. I just thought it was the worst place in the world.....Although in my childhood I had lived in a very isolated place (Patagonia), complete isolation and millions of sheep. For me now it's taken a while to get use to the isolation of this landscape, just being with myself and in it. For a while I was quite frightened by it, it was really quite overwhelming when you're on your own and you're not sure where you're going (Sally, textile artist, 2006). The isolation which Sally felt when she first arrived on Dartmoor reflects an aspect of its materiality. Of course the sense and feeling of isolation is subjective, some may like and indeed enjoy such a feeling. However the later comment of "*just being myself and in it*" highlights how the sense of isolation is part of the Moor's properties, but also placing and immersing her body within the landscape highlights how her and the Moor's involvement is a recursive relationship between the two of them, they become socially embedded with each other. The agency of the Moor expressed by the sense of isolation and fear is overcome by becoming part of it. This is further demonstrated when asked about how she feels about the isolation now, "I love it, just love it, I love it, I love it!" (Sally, textile artist, 2006).

It is also interesting to consider how previous embodied experiences of walking and the landscapes in which they were familiar with continue to influence their walking lives. For example the decision to walk Dartmoor for one of the ramblers was due to her children leaving home and her simply wanting to walk and Dartmoor gave her that opportunity. When asked about what her first impressions were, she commented how she liked the feeling of openness and continued to talk about how coming from Wiltshire she had a particular affinity with open plains and landscapes, "I was quite attracted to the fact it was just extremely open, rather like the Wiltshire Downs" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler 2006). This is not to say that Abbie only exclusively walks Dartmoor, as she does indeed walk coastal areas as well, but the landscape of Dartmoor and walking it is the kinaesthetic sensation/experience of a landscape that reminds her of where she grew up and those memories and familiarities. For another rambler, Becky, walking is and has been an important activity in her life and one that connects her to a

life in Plymouth and to her family in Barrow-On-Furness. She explained that her mother and father enjoyed walking; “My parents were interested in walking, not big walkers, but they used to take me to Roborough Downs and we would catch the train to Shaugh Bridge and picnic around there, so I had an early interest and was always interested in being outdoors and doing a lot of walking.” (Becky, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). When she married, her husband’s job took them to Barrow-On-Furness, where her father’s family were from and as a child would visit and did a lot of fell walking with family members. On returning to Barrow-On-Furness, she continued to walk the fells she knew as a child and on coming back to Plymouth she desperately wanted to continue walking and so joined the Dartmoor Ramblers. For Becky, walking provides a connection to the areas in which she lived and grew up. The short walks as a child with her parents and walking in the fells with family members are part and parcel of her growing personhood, of memories and skills learnt from previous engagements. As much as walking is important as a form of enjoyment and exercise it can also be seen as a re-connecting of past events, memories and temporal changes in your life.

5.4 Place-Making and Body Memory

The above quotes and analysis highlight how and why some of those interviewed became interested in walking Dartmoor. The following examples/quotes will highlight some of the elements/features of Dartmoor that are part of peoples’ engagement with the Moor and form their memories, experiences and attachments to it. The focus is how walking is part of the process in which embodied experiences become gathered into the body and are re-collected through the movements of the body through the landscape or a specific place. The materiality of the Moor is central to how peoples’ experiences, such as memories, sociality, become embodied and inhabited.

It was mentioned earlier in this section how the area of Burrator and walking it becomes a further biographical association and engagement for Ian with the memory of his mother after her death; I will now continue to highlight this idea. The story of his mother’s death came about when I mentioned having your own or relatives ashes scattered on Dartmoor. This arose as my grand-parents had stipulated that when they died they wanted to have their ashes scattered in a particular part of the moor, this being behind a set of rocks known as Bonehill Rocks and overlooking Widecombe Vale, as this had been their favourite spot on the moor and an area where they would picnic with

my mother and her sisters as they were growing up. For Ian the area of Burrator had long been a place with a strong biographical association for him and his family, as Bonehill Rocks had and continues to have for my family. Ian continued to tell me about what had happened to his mother. In 1969 his mother was diagnosed with cancer, in the April of that year she had an operation, which for a while slowed down the progress of the cancer. In the summer of that year his mother said that she would like to visit the Burrator area and walk up one of the tors known as Sheepstor (see figure 5.1). He went on to say how his mother made it to the top of the tor. In this particular area Sheepstor holds a very prominent position and affords fantastic views to the coast in the south, west over into Cornwall, north and east into Dartmoor and the whole Burrator area. Having a steep incline makes it a very difficult and tiring walk but as highlighted, very rewarding.

Unfortunately, in the December of that year the cancer came back and his mother died, Ian said "I was responsible for her funeral and I regret now that her ashes weren't scattered at the top of Sheepstor, instead they were handed over to the funeral director and that's it" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). He also explained that when his eldest brother and his brother's wife came back for a holiday, he took the both of them for a walk to Sheepstor as well, "I thought it would be a nice thing, back to where my mum last walked" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). It wasn't known when Ian's mother last walked or visited the Burrator area before she and Ian visited. Perhaps his mother's desire to visit the area and ascend Sheepstor was part a personal reflection on her behalf that there was a possibility she might not get such a chance again. A similar story was recounted to me by Matt, regarding a friend of his; "Martin got terminal cancer and he was in his seventies….he knew he was dying and he came down (from Herefordshire) in his seventies and he did this extraordinary walk from Okehampton to Ivybridge (North Dartmoor to South Dartmoor) on his own across the Moor, and I think for him that was a very spiritual thing to do. He knew he was dying but for him that was such an important thing to do and I thought that was wonderful actually, didn't want to pry as to why he felt that was necessary but, that was saying that perhaps the only solace I'm going to get is that landscape and that landscape can give it to me and he came and did it. He was so proud he had done it, and a couple of months later he was dead, I thought that was very interesting." (Matt, Photographer, 2006). For Ian and his mother the walk becomes a re-connecting, re-experiencing and embodiment of memories –visits, picnics- and biographical associations built up over previous engagements. The walk

becomes more than simply visiting the area and re-engaging with it, his mother didn't just want to visit and 'see' the area she wanted to put her body back into Dartmoor. The same is true for Matt's friend and colleague Martin. The two had worked together on the Moor over the years and his last walk becomes almost a pilgrimage, Matt continued "Only about a fortnight ago I got up really early one morning and I thought I have just got to go for a thumping walk on the moor. I set off with the dogs at about quarter to five and I went skinny dipping in the river, which was bloody freezing, and I got back here at about quarter past eight, and it did me the world of good. It's like feeding your need, you know, that's just what I knew I needed to do." (Matt, Photographer, 2006).

The walk becomes a sociable engagement between Ian's mother and Burrator/Sheepstor, and for both Martin and Matt, Dartmoor's being (Lee Vergunst & Ingold 2006). Lee Vergunst & Ingold (2006) discuss how walking allows for an understanding of how routes create places. Walking through 'somewhere' is the shifting interaction of person and environment, where the movement of the whole body is important rather than just an act of vision outwards from a fixed point (Lee Vergunst & Ingold 2006: 68). While walking we are moving, seeing and feeling a route ahead of us, creating a path around and after us (Lee Vergunst & Ingold 2006:68). The many visits and routes taken around Burrator become paths not just of movement but also a network of personalised trails (Ingold 2004: 333), with strong memorial, experiential and biographical associations. Again, whether Ian or his mother intentionally felt this on

Figure 5.1. Sheepstor, where Ian and his mother and brother all walked (by author).

their last walk is unknown, but it is almost as if once at the top of Sheepstor it becomes a central locale for his mother and her body to gather in a textured landscape of past and present engagements and one in which the body has and is constantly involved with it. As Matt says "that's just what I needed to do" (Matt, Photographer, 2006), for his frien the 'need' to walk Dartmoor is an acceptance in the fragility of the body and the finiteness of life, but also the walk engages and connects his body with the landscape and his past memories of Dartmoor and possibly memories over his life.

The above highlights the role of the body in remembering or the 'Body memory' (Casey 2000). Body memory creates a feeling of at 'ease' and familiarity with one's surroundings and alludes to memory that is intrinsic to the body, to its own ways of remembering: how we remember in and by and through the body (Casey 2000: 47). When Ian took his brother and his brother's wife up to Sheepstor they were repeating the route their mother had taken, almost re-enacting her last experiences of Dartmoor. It could also be commented that the walk also constituted the re-engagement of Ian's brother's body memory with the moor and makes tangible his mother's experiences and their past experiences. This repeating of the route produces a 'thicker association' (Ingold 2004: 77) of the route for both the brothers, from this emerges a distinctive relationship of place in the interaction between the walker (the brothers) and the meaningful environment (Sheepstor/Burrator) (Ingold 2004: 77). Martin's route took him along a route called the 'The Two Moors Way', a path that is taken by many people. His bodily presence and involvement along the path becomes intertwined with the thousands of bodies that have walked along the same route and adds to the path's already personal depth and stories. Such paths are not simply routes of locomotion but paths of experience, emotion, memories and sociality (Tilley 2008). The route up Sheepstor and Sheepstor itself becomes an 'Inscribed space' (Low & Lawence-Zúñiga 2003:13) where the past experience of first Ian and his mother walking the route, then Ian and his brother following the same route becomes the place where experience -both memorial and bodily- are embedded and that space -Sheepstor, Burrator, the route- holds the memories that implicate or gather people and events. Sheepstor has been walked and will continually be walked by many people, but the route or path-making that Ian and his family took weaves another strand of movement and embodiment into the landscape and specifically Sheepstor. Following Casey (2000) this specific landscape becomes a 'Place memory', a portion of space from out of which we undergo

experiences and remember them (Casey 2000: 182). Therefore, the embodiment of experiences becomes place-specific and bound to that specific place (Casey 2000:180).

With the scattering of my mother's parents -my grandparents- at a specific location on Dartmoor this becomes not only an act of fulfilling my grand-parents wishes, but also anchors their experiences to a specific place, and also my mother's experiences to a specific place. For myself, who doesn't have the memories, experiences of either my grand-parents or mother to this area, it becomes an "attuned space" (Casey 2000), somewhere I feel close to or sympathetic towards. The scattering of the ashes is analogous to the route /walk taken by Ian and his family in the sense that it creates a 'thicker association' and interaction to a specific area. For my mother, my family and my-self it produces a greater tangibility to those memories and experiences associated with that place, also in the scattering of the ashes of my grand-parents bodies a constant presence is created. Just as lived bodies empower a place so do the dead equally empower or embody a place and animate them as anchoring points in remembering. When the body is alive the meaning of a place is constituted by their bodily presence (Ingold 2004: 77), in the scattering of the ashes a bodily presence is continued, even more so as the ashes -the physical body itself- falls onto and into the soil joining both the body and place together.

Another rambler, James, mentions scattering two of his friends on the moor as well. Both were members of the rescue team, one was scattered in an area called Hillson's House located on a prominent hill on the southern part of Dartmoor, the other actually died whilst leading a training exercise and they -the rescue team- "scattered his ashes out in the middle of nowhere" (James, Dartmoor Walker and member of the Dartmoor Rescue Team). Although James did not elaborate on this story, it highlights the importance of body and landscape. As part of a team who walk Dartmoor, the landscape becomes woven into their individual life and each other's lives, thus their lives are woven into the landscape of Dartmoor in a continuous and never ending process (Tilley 1994: 29-30). Scattering friends is part of this process for the living members to not only keep memories of their friends alive but also to keep them interwoven into their life as individuals and a team. It is a poignant remark where Ian says "I was responsible for her funeral and I regret now that her ashes weren't scattered at the top of Sheepstor, instead they were handed over to the funeral director and that's it" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The handing over of his mother's ashes appears as a fairly traumatic moment, the words "that's it" implies a sense of almost oblivion, of closing off her

presence. The ashes were possibly laid down in a garden of remembrance in a cemetery, these are unknown details, and if they were, this to the both of them is an unfamiliar place. The regret that he feels in not scattering his mother's ashes at Sheepstor prevents the continued engagement with her and the area in which they visited. The walk up Sheepstor to scatter her ashes would be another re-engagement with his mother and the route they took. The act of scattering the ashes may have brought people together as part of the ceremony, for instance his brother, which in turn brings together their recollections of the walk they took. Most of all, as mentioned earlier regarding James and the rescue team, whether Ian was to walk other areas of the moor or occasionally re-visited Sheepstor it provides the ability to continue weaving your life with the memories of others.

5.4.1 Dartmoor's Intangible Agency/Efficacy

The previous examples focused broadly on the production of attachment to certain places and the embodiment of memories and remembering through walking. The following example will focus again on the importance of walking as sustaining an involvement and connection with Dartmoor, but also how the Moor's agency/efficacy influences the desires of people still wanting to be part of it.

On asking the question "Do you miss Dartmoor?" to Abbie a member of the Dartmoor Ramblers she replied, "Oh yes dreadfully, oh yes!" She continued that she had ruptured her Achilles and the leg had been in plaster for six months and during that time she missed the moor a lot. I replied "was that because you just simply couldn't get out?" with which she responded, "Oh no it's definitely Dartmoor, I miss Dartmoor! It's that sense of (and said with a gasp) I'm back kind of feeling" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). This sense of "I'm Back" that Abbie mentions is almost a feeling of homesickness or longing to be back with someone or somewhere that you have not seen for sometime, or you feel that you are missing out. She continued to mention how she goes walking in the Lakes but that feeling of "missing it" is not there. Indeed she loves being up there and seeing the Lakes but that sense of "I'm back" is not felt. As Abbie commented, it may have a lot to do with being home territory and familiarity, however, her next sentence was particularly interesting. "It's because I think it's always there, unlike the Peaks or the Lakes or the Scottish Highlands where you've got to drive all the way out to them to get any-where special, but Dartmoor's always there and you

know it's going to be there and you can just go up whenever you want, as it were, it's like walking out into your back garden" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

The constant presence that Dartmoor has was a feature mentioned by another rambler -Stephen- and other people I met while walking the Moor. It is true that Dartmoor does hold a strong presence on the psyche when living in this part of the county. The way in which Abbie refers to the Moor as "always there" and "you know it's going to be there", "you can just go up whenever you like" almost infers some sort of sense of stability, permanency and everydayness. Now, of course the Highlands, Peaks and Lakes are physically permanent, but the ability to be able to drive fifteen minutes or less and be on Dartmoor reinforces the special character, presence and again everydayness that the moor holds. As Abbie says; "it's like walking out into your back garden" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Indeed in areas such as South Brent, Ivybridge and the edge of Plymouth the boundary of the Dartmoor National Park comes right onto the edge of the town or peoples' gardens. The quote also gives rise to the notion of dwelling and closeness that Abbie feels for Dartmoor. Just as a garden is a place that can be reached easily and all the time, so Dartmoor is for Abbie. For many people a garden is maintained, looked after and cared for, a place to sit, relax, reflect and be released and away from the constraints of the house or work, essentially somewhere to let the body open out. Abbie may not plant perennials on the moor or maintain it as you would a garden but, she does have a deep affection towards the moor and it is maintained like a garden by being in it and part of it, growing with it. This attachment not only structures her present day to day life, but how she will still be part of the moor in the future.

Over the last couple of years -2004 to 2006- Jean had enrolled on a fine art degree course, the reason being that she had been thinking of what happens when the day comes and she would not be able to walk and cycle on the moor. As a result of this thinking she came to the conclusion that painting could help resolve this; "I will still be able to be *part of it* and paint it" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The affection and closeness which Abbie has for the Moor is part of the Moor's agency and influences her actions and thinking about how and what will happen to Abbie in the future. During the duration of the degree course it prevented her from being able to go up onto the moor and Abbie comments how she has missed it a lot and is looking forward to getting back to it. The art course becomes a form of sacrifice of time spent on the Moor in the "here and now" for time to be spent in the future on the Moor and not wanting to lose that.

However, at the time in which the interview was carried out Abbie had been on the art course for two years, she had not started to paint and did not want to paint it at the moment; "I'm just hoping that when the time comes I do feel able to do that and won't actually miss walking it. It's walking that is really quite important, I mean if you were to look at my table there will always be walking stuff around, so walking itself is quite important and most of the walking I do is on Dartmoor" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The above highlights how when the time comes to start painting it will be a loss of that physical engagement, her bodily involvement with Dartmoor and an acceptance of the bodies overall corporeality. Walking is a form of affordance, it enables her to do something, in the way that she can move. Movement and walking releases the materiality within the Moor. It also highlights the corporeal nature of walking itself and the importance that it has in almost alleviating any anxieties of ageing.

The previous examples have focused on walking as the primary mode of bodily involvement and construction of a place-world, one that is located specifically in Dartmoor. I would like to now turn now to issues of agency and place and how the two together initiate bodily responses and further an emotional relationship with both the self and the Moor. Abbie's worry about getting old and not being able to walk the Moor influenced her decision to undertake an art course, Dartmoor and Abbie are socially intertwined, and its agency is fundamental in Abbie's actions and thinking. The following examples range from a specific place for Matt which holds particular significance, to Dartmoor as a whole and its materiality and agency in informing and changing how Sally feels and sees the Moor through her artwork, and thirdly a specific place and Dartmoor as a whole that forms the basis for the third example in how Richard feels for his farm, Dartmoor and nature. The first example focuses on the photographer, Matt and how a specific part/place of Dartmoor was vital in his recovery from clinical depression.

"It does have a certain, erm, magnetism to it this landscape that is very interesting.... (Matt continued) I will be very frank with you here, it's quite interesting. In the early eighties I had clinical depression for a year and I used to go in to the hospital in Exeter and I joined the Psycho Drama class just for a year once a week. I can remember one day we were asked to do a drawing, and I can't really draw I'm a photographer, but I drew this picture and the psychologist said that's very interesting where is it and I said, oh it's when you come off at Whiddon Down and you start on that road towards

Throwleigh and I said you can see Cosdon Beacon and the church, and she said why have you drawn that, and I didn't exactly know why I had drawn it and I said, umm, I had to think about it because I'd just drawn it you know and I said, because it's the view that lifts my heart when I come home and that's exactly what it was. I'd been away and I turn onto that road and I see this big whale back beacon and the moor and the church, I'm not religious, the woods and I just drew it, so that was the first thing that came to mind. It's quite interesting…..it's a real pull." (Matt, Photographer, 2006).

Although the example is not directly about walking, the area that Matt talks about and drew is where he lives and it was mentioned earlier in the section on 'place-making and memory' how he woke up early and went for a walk which would have been in the same area. So it is an area with which he has close familiarity. Such placeness was perhaps the reason why he came to draw the image that he did and which "lifts his heart". It is also the placeness and his body having moved and dwelled in that landscape that initiated the response. He may not have been walking in the landscape at the time of drawing, but the past memories and immersion of his body walking. Following Bergson ([1896] 1991) the drawing is a memory, an image that is part of an 'inscribed corporeality' (involuntary memories) and reflects the habits and ways that Matt moved and walked within the area that he drew (Tilley 2008: 22). No visualisation was needed to initiate a response or action, instead it was when he asked to do a drawing, this could have been anything. The response was from the body and the memories that were and are gathered within it. This also has a close connection with Merleau-Ponty's (1993, from Tilley 2008) sight as touch mentioned earlier. Where Matt explains in detail the many features that he sees when "coming off at Whiddon Down", the beacon, church and the woods initiate a response that lifts his heart, this is a metaphorical and emotional lifting but one that is comparable to having physically been lifted, so to see becomes comparable to touching or being touched. These features are part of the materiality of Matt's memory and drawing. The following example of Sally who is a textile artist demonstrates the agency of Dartmoor in changing and influencing her artwork, and reflects not just a change in the type of art in which she produces but is also her increasing embodied experiences of becoming more involved with the Moor.

"It's not the High Moor I go to, I seek out more the rivers and woods and those are the things that sustain my work because my work has changed completely since I've been here. After about two years I found my work starting to change and it's changing again.

I didn't realise it was changing, I didn't even realise it until about, well I don't know quite a long time. I started looking at things in a different way and I think it was me going into the landscape. My colours started changing dramatically too, before they were much more sort of stronger, primal, bold, instant, in your face, well that's my view. When I came here I think what happened was that because of my fear of going through this landscape made me experience it going through a very different way than to a city, A; I was on my own with my dog, B; there was all sorts of walking in the night on my own, all the different sounds and walking through woods started to change my colours from the deeper reds to the darker colours you get in North Devon. I took to riding a horse because that meant I could venture out even more, and slowly became to realise that I was getting a deeper attachment to this place. Now it's changed again, I've changed how I work, I don't do as much textiles I do more photography and I go down into the woods. So I'm going to use photography and that's come out in fact a lot due to the landscape, I think. I was thinking actually, is it the landscape or is it how I've felt through the landscape and I can't quite work out what it is, I think it's both. I think it's something in me that resonates with that landscape, the landscape gives me (pauses), it's like a medium. I was along the River Teign the other day and there was something about the droplets of rain dropping into the river, gently dropping and there was this piece of stone there and I looked and thought that's the oldest stone in the world, it's such an old stone. It was beautiful and something resonated between the river, the droplets and the stone and it created something that I felt it was going through me and then up again. I would find it really hard to leave this place." (Sally, textile artist, 2006).

The changing styles in Sally's art, from colours to the use of photography is a reflection of the changing synaesthetic and kinaesthetic experiences in which her body has gone through since moving to Dartmoor. They also reflect a change and growth in the temporality of her body and her feelings towards Dartmoor, especially at the end where she says that she would find it very hard to leave. The growth in her personhood and changes in artwork is also analogous to the modality of the wayfarer always moving and learning (Ingold 2007a, 2010). Wayfaring is form or mode of movement that is different to that of Transport. The wayfarer is someone who in following a path of life negotiates and improvises. The aim is to not reach a specific destination but to seek a way through, the practice of wayfaring is the means to which beings inhabit the world and knowledge grows as the inhabitant goes along (Ingold 2007a, 2010). Transport on

the other hand is destination-oriented, where as a wayfarer is developing along a way, in transport the being is carried across from location to location in such a way that their basic natures are unaffected (Ingold 2007a: 77). Sally's movement and walking over and in Dartmoor is part of a journey in which she negotiates her feelings towards the Moor from one of fear from the start to comfort when she walks by herself at night and also reflected in the quote; "something resonated between the river, the droplets and the stone and it created something that I felt it was going through me and then up again" (Sally, textile artist, 2006). It is also a journey that changes the materiality of her art which has been influenced by the agency in which the landscape and its materiality have affected her experiences; "So I'm going to use photography and that's come out in fact a lot due to the landscape, I think. I was thinking actually, is it the landscape or is it how I've felt through the landscape and I can't quite work out what it is, I think it's both" (Sally, textile artist, 2006). There is a reciprocal relationship and sense of sociality between Sally and Dartmoor. She comments how the changes in colour have been effected by all the sounds, the synaesthetic agency in which her body is immersed has a direct influence and affect on how she perceives and expresses that in her artwork. The recursive relationship between Sally and the Moor is one where the agency in which the Moor first affected her responses to it has changed due to a social relationship between the two being formed and demonstrates the temporality and nature of agency. The final example focuses on Richard, who has a farm at Ditsworthy on the eastern side of the Moor. While we were talking, Richard pulled out a photo album which contained pictures of his family and the farm;

"This is an album you might want to look through. There's nothing written in it but you can see the photos and it's all about Batworthy and here (Ditsworthy Farm) and how things have gone on and it will show you my love of the moor and with nature as well. I love poetry, I get really pulled in by it (Richard, farmer, 2006).

"What is it that triggers that pull?" (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006)

"I think its emotion, the loss of my brother probably, but I love the peacefulness and moodiness of Dartmoor, it's an escape. When I'm out there with the swallow or whatever, or in the spring it just fires it. Yeah it's a privilege! I did one (a poem) on the swallow which was seventeen verses, and the first verse was fired off by the spring:

At last the waiting's over,
The first swallow I've seen.
Yesterday no sign on high.
Today it's clear, tail forked
And feathers sheen.
As if planted in the sky,
Flying hither and dither.
Like a joy I could almost cry
O' where O' where has it you've been!

Well it's been twelve thousand miles round trip. It's something special when that comes back. And when you see it build and lay, and journeys to feed its young just there, cross here now in the garage. No questions asked just an automatic commitment to survival, to breed and that's what the human race has not got, it's lost that it, it doesn't have that acceptance. I think it's amazing, you're up in the field feeding the cattle, and you see the first swallow and you think yeah there it is. It only has to be once, it's just the once will trigger it, won't it? Then it's enough to take you on into other poetry, and then I see the changing moods of the moor, the heather, the weather and so on" (Richard, farmer, 2006).

For Richard, poetry is a form of escapism and reflection, a way of finding Dartmoor. Reading it after he has finished work for the day helps him relax. Dartmoor is a big influence and the inspiration for much of his poetry.

"It's the landscape really (Richards's inspiration), it's like at twilight hour, you know, or anything that happens at different stages of the year.....it's just this fact that when you look at Dartmoor (pauses), the moor seems distant now, it's so still , if you go up now (interview was carried out at about 6:30pm in spring) just before dark and you get that silhouette , nothing's visibly moving and you think of its history and its sort of creation is incomplete. We're lucky, we're going through a very privileged time in history to have all this affluence and time which the public has, but they're not using it to the best of their advantage. To think that Dartmoor has accommodated it for so many millions of years, these changes, and also centuries of course, when it was peated, then it was tinned, then pastured to death, it's had terrific exploitation, and yet it still stands up! Then you see the vegetation cover the scars, you see the lovely heather and it's amazing, quite amazing" (Richard, farmer, 2006).

To consider and reflect on Dartmoor as "a living place" (Richard) and the many changes, both natural and cultural, that have occurred on the moor, is a constant and continuing (re)engagement with Dartmoor and the constituent elements that 'make-it'. This embodied experience/engagement is not only through the physical topography of the moor but via the past (both archaeology and history) and the animals. For example, when Richard talks about the swallow making its nest in his garage this is more than simply watching 'nature take its course' it is part of a farm space becoming a farm place (Gray 2003). The garage becomes more than just the space for storage, it becomes a place of dwelling. Watching the swallow and its movements is as much a bodily engagement as walking the landscape. It is an engagement not with just one bird -or animal- but the natural world as a whole, and at the same time a reflexive process on the loss of his brother and the 'state of things' -Dartmoor, humanity, environment.

The interview with Richard also emphasises how the material properties of Dartmoor; the heather, swallow, weather, seasons to name a few have a real materiality. Through Richard there is a deep social and historical context in which he has grown with Dartmoor and continues to grow and gather in experiences and emotions from the Moor. Through his responses it is possible to understand how the coming of the Swallow or the changing time of day is an affectual engagement where the Moor, it is animated and given a presence. In the context of the exploitation which has changed and taken from the Moor Richard says; "and yet it still stands up! Then you see the vegetation cover the scars, you see the lovely heather and it's amazing, quite amazing" (Richard, farmer, 2006). The phrase animates the Moor as a living place, a Being in which Richard and his family have been part of through living and work in the landscape, he 'dwells' 'inside' of the Moor. To watch and inhabit the Moor he understands the Moor's temporality in its materiality, the scars are covered by the heather and its creation is incomplete. The historical and temporal contexts in which Richard sees and understands Dartmoor is analogous to the wayfarer (Ingold 2007a, 2010) together they are both finding 'a way through' and the journey is never complete, especially for Richard regarding the Moor, "nothing's visibly moving and you think of its history and its sort of creation is incomplete." Dartmoor, like the earth is perpetually growing (Ingold 2010: 125).

The above examples and quotes from the unstructured interviews have been used to demonstrate the overriding issues of the body and the Moor's materiality. Through walking and the physical engagement with the Moor experiences become embodied and

more and more intertwined with the body. Through peoples' bodies they come to dwell in Dartmoor, they grow with it, become knowledgeable with it and remember with it. The Moor becomes a place where its agency is expressed through the actions and thoughts of those who inhabit it. The following section is still concerned with the role of walking and focuses specifically on the archaeology of the Moor and how peoples' engagements with it is part of the embodiment of the Moor's history and also deepens peoples' rootedness within Dartmoor.

5.5 Archaeological Engagements with Dartmoor

While walking the study areas I would occasionally meet small groups -usually a maximum of four people- who were visiting each Stone Cross scattered across Dartmoor. The Stone Crosses range in date from more than a thousand years old to less than a hundred years old and fulfilled functions as boundary markers, way-markers on ancient trackways and in some areas may have held some religious significance, and they are constructed out of granite. After meeting several 'Cross Collecting Groups' I looked on the internet and found that not only had a number of books been written on the subject of Dartmoor Stone Crosses but that there was also a website; www.dartmoor-crosses.org.uk set up by "a couple of enthusiastic walkers" (www.dartmoor-crosses.org.uk, 2008) who not only photographed the crosses and were building up an album/archive of them all, but walks were also designed specifically to pass by them. Also, over the duration of my fieldwork I joined a team of members of the Dartmoor Preservation Association who were undertaking projects to repair certain Bronze Age cairns that had been damaged over the years by walkers moving the stones and creating small shelters in the cairns to protect themselves from the weather. Listening and talking with them the conversation invariably would be about the archaeology and if someone had found the cairn in this place or the kist in that area and whether a particular writer had correctly identified a hut circle. Together with the above conversations and interviews carried out with the ramblers I began to realise the importance that the archaeology, whether it was prehistoric or modern, held for many of them. It not only made Dartmoor a more interesting place but it is important in building a biography of the moor's changing character and also their own personal biographical attachments and engagements with the moor and each other. Central to these engagements is walking.

After meeting some of the Cross collectors and the cairn repairers one of the ramblers interviewed, Stephen, mentioned how he had been (and continues) visiting and recording all the antiquities and other places of interest -as well as all the tors- across the moor. It struck me how comparable this recording and collecting of specific features, notably the archaeology, is comparable to people who visit and collect Tarns in the Lake District or Bag Munros in Scotland. Visiting and recording the antiquities is part of collecting the fabric of the moor, the routes taken become routes of experience with others and sharing the very sociality of those experiences that walking creates. Stephen says at the end of the extract, "you can look back and see the backdrop of the hills and the wilderness of Dartmoor that I knew…." (Stephen, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Recording and visiting the sites is as much about gathering information as well as remembering past visits and memories he had when growing up.

Walking the Moor becomes a process of understanding the movements and activities of the past, creating an embodied experience of past actions as well as forming a deeper appreciation of the archaeology. Abbie comments how since walking the moor the archaeology has grown in importance and how at the beginning she didn't know what was what, but her knowledge increases as she visits and passes them on walks. The archaeology is not only a way of forming an appreciation of the moor's past, but also become aids in learning to orientate or find your way around the moor, "you do use their stones and standing stones and everything as else as way-markers, I mean they are definitely positioned so they are visible from certain places and you know they're either a way-marker if you're doing a walk, or if it's completely misty it's brilliant to get to one. I mean they are a real comfort from that point of view, you learn to get to know them and where they should be" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). In this sense the archaeology is not just something that appears on the landscape, inanimate and fossilised but is integral to forming one's knowledge of the moor and become places that are visited and remembered with memories of past engagements. As a form of "comfort" they create a sense of at ease and familiarity with your surroundings, especially in the mist when your senses become disorientated. Your visual field is cut, sounds are muffled and the direction from which they come is disorientated, there is a sense that your body feels suspended in an unknown area. Then, to come upon or find a particular archaeological feature relieves the feeling of anxiety and fear, and invariably touching the standing stone or sitting in the hut circle for a moment to orientate the map secures both your body and senses.

Apart from one of the ramblers interviewed the archaeology makes Dartmoor a more interesting place. Thinking about people living on the moor in the prehistoric and the industrial activity of tin mining provides a greater diachronic understanding of the moor and the various processes that have been involved. Phil highlights how "Dartmoor is a place that goes back" (Phil, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006), he continues how Dartmoor is equal to other areas such as Stonehenge or Avebury but people don't go to see the remains, only the walkers do. Walking is the method of understanding the changing character of Dartmoor and its past. This is nicely demonstrated by Abbie and the way crossing over Dartmoor is a process of understanding the movements of people in the past. Abbie mentions that an aspect she likes about walking is the ability to cover big differences in the landscape over a short space of time. During these long walks she comments how she can picture people migrating from where she lives on the coast up onto Dartmoor and the feasibility that people would and could migrate from area to area. The bodily engagement that walking provides with the environment becomes the method in which Abbie comes to understand and embody the movements and actions of groups of people in the past. Walking becomes a way of bringing the past and present together via the body (Tilley 2008a). Similarly, the industrial ruin of Swell Tor Quarry and Sarah's bodily immersion within it creates a strong presence of 'being' and one more so than older archaeological remains where for her that presence has gone. Coming from the recent past, the ruin of the quarry is a reminder of the recent industrial activities carried out across the moor. Standing and walking around the quarry has a greater sensual dimension for Sarah than the prehistoric remains. The fact that it is from the recent past increases the bodily sensation of being able to "feel them there" (Sarah, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006) and heightens the synaesthetic experience and imagination of the quarry in use and the spectral presence of people working there.

As well as the moving body of the walker the archaeology and landscape have a strong agency for the poetry of Jo, "Several times I've written in the huts, sat in the huts and tried to sort of feel, not about how people lived in them but how they felt about them and actually when you sit in them you're very aware that you are sheltering and you are *in* the landscape.....Another thing I was thinking very much about and came to me as I was sitting in one of the huts was that people didn't really live in their huts, or in their houses or in their homes, they lived in the landscape and they just sheltered in them, where as we live here (motions her arms to point to her house) and the landscape's outside." (Jo, Dartmoor Poet, 2006). The kinaesthetic experience which Jo

gets from sitting in the prehistoric roundhouses strengthens the sense of dwelling and inhabitant knowledge (Ingold 2007a) in which she feels people had in the past, but it is also demonstrates the feeling of detachment from the landscape in which people and modernity exist.

5.5.1 Archaeology, Place and Taskscape

With Jo's example above and the following examples, the aim is to show how archaeology is part of an overall body engagement in which a greater sense of place is formed through the archaeology and finding out about it. It is not just the monuments - whether Prehistoric or Modern- that create a sense of experience and attachment, but also the portable artefacts such as flint blades or axe heads. The quote below was also used at the start of the chapter as an example of the materiality of the artefacts found on Jeremy's farm.

"I can remember finding my first arrowhead two fields up from here and that got me started into collecting anything I could find on the farm and my collection's built up from everything I find on the farm. My idea is that it should stay here on the farm a lot of people say I should give it to a museum or give it to Parke (where the Parks Headquarters are), my argument is 'No' this is where it belongs because it's part of the farm. My grandson has got some stones that were given to him by the people from the farm out there several years ago; he's got one or two lovely axes heads. The family had given some of the stuff that her husband had found to the museum, now, they've lost it and put them in boxes, nobody knows where they are. So she decided to give them to young Harry because he is the future of that farm, they're with the farm (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006). Tony also uses the artefacts that he's found when he gives talks to local interested groups and he lets people touch and handle the objects. This can be seen as a form of bodily and sensory engagement with the individual objects, the past and the context in which they were found (as highlighted at the beginning of the chapter). The following two examples enable a good insight into how archaeology is important for both Jeremy and another farmer Bill, in their attachment and relation to Dartmoor and also how they are enrolled into networks of engagement that are off the Moor.

A few years ago, Tony had to move a large stone (whether it was standing or fallen was not mentioned) and once removed he noticed that there was a small slate disc that

had been covered by the stone. The disc was approximately four centimetres in diameter with small striations and what resembled the carving of a fish and spear on one side. The disc had been sent all over Britain for identification but with no success. On a holiday to County Clare, Ireland, Tony took the disc with him and in a museum he visited they had six of the same discs, but without any engravings. It was suggested to Tony that the disc was most likely a line weight for a fishing net and that it may have been buried with someone as part of the burial goods for the next life.

The second example is related to two large pieces of bog oak that Simon found by chance while undertaking drain maintenance on his farm. One of the park archaeologists came out to the farm and said that they had never dated bog oak from the moor and asked if a sample could be taken for dating. The samples were sent to Sheffield University for Dendrochronology dating. However Sheffield University didn't have any samples old enough to compare so the sample was sent by "special courier" to Miami. The dates for the two samples came back as c.7000 B.C. and c.5000 B.C. Both had been found in the same field only yards apart. "The fascinating thing about that is, is that there would have been an Oak wood, and when people were losing these flints there would have been a large Oak wood down there in the valley" (Bill, Farmer, 2006). "We have this lovely mental picture of the bottom of the valley being fall of these enormous trees and the hut circles just above the tree line" (Bill's wife, 2006). Many of the finds that had been found collected had been found around the valley bottom or in direct vicinity of the farmhouse, which added a further dimension to the various tasks that would have been carried out in the valley and added depth to its 'placeness'. Both examples demonstrate how modern activities like drain maintenance or moving a stone on the farm are part of a contemporary 'taskscape', one of moving and engaging with their surroundings. Then, the unearthing of the finds and their study, places them into a prehistoric 'taskscape' and one that furthers Bill's and Jeremy's attachment to their farms and surrounding landscape. For the both of them the past, in the form of archaeology, creates the continuity to the evolution of the moor as a whole and reaches out past the confines of Dartmoor to places far beyond its borders and then coming back to further deepen and strengthen their sense of attachment and embodiment.

5.6 Self, Environment and Walking: Emotional Responses

For many of those interviewed Dartmoor affords a time for self reflection and a chance to escape from the everyday world in which they inhabit, as Matt comments, "It's like feeding your need, you know, that's just what I knew I needed to do." (Matt, Photographer, 2006). Another Dartmoor rambler, Sarah, also mentions the importance of walking for her. Due to a bad knee and hip she does not do as much walking as she would like. As a result she would rather lessen the amount of walking due to the pain but also when she retires she won't be able to walk as much. In the same extract of the interview Sarah mentions how she does not look forward to the weekend if she knows she cannot get out onto the moor, "I live from Sunday to Sunday basically or Wednesday to Wednesday to be out on the moor walking, or any walking" (Sarah, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). For Ian, Dartmoor was his lifeline when he was working and he mentions how he looked forward to Sunday and to be able to get up onto Dartmoor and walk. Both Sarah and Ian have different degrees of attachment to the moor. When asked if he had become more attached to Dartmoor and if he had quite an emotional tie to the moor Ian's reply was "Yeah I think so, yeah!" (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006) and continued to tell me how it was his lifeline. For Sarah it had more to do with being outdoors, "I wouldn't say Dartmoor's in my heart and I couldn't leave. If I did leave I'd want to be somewhere with a special park so I could walk. Because I'm down here Dartmoor is the nearest and Dartmoor has my heart at the moment, but if I moved to the Lakes then I'd love the Lakes. Each area has its own specific feeling about them, perhaps it's because I like being outdoors I get those feelings" (Sarah, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Although both Sarah and Ian have differing degrees of attachment to the moor, the examples highlight that the self, environment and walking are closely related. I will continue this point with some more examples.

It is both walking and the specific environment of Dartmoor that provides the emotional responses and benefits. When questions were put to the informants such as "What does Dartmoor meant to you?" or "What attracts you to Dartmoor?" the responses were broadly similar. When asking James at the beginning of the interview how he became involved with Dartmoor part of his response was that walking gives him a great deal of pleasure and help in dealing with the stresses of day to day life, especially those confronted by his work life. Working for the Inland Revenue, in a large office and the politics and confrontations that go with it are a heavy emotional strain, "it

does me no end of good to get out and hack across the moor for a bit" (James, Dartmoor walker and member of the Dartmoor Rescue Team, 2006). To 'hack' out enables James the time to expel the emotions of a bad day and the moor becomes a sponge soaking up James' emotions and movements, affording him time to contemplate. For others it is the sense of a personal challenge, exploration and most of all isolation that comes with it, "you're close to a population (Plymouth) but you can be in the middle of nowhere, you can walk on the moors for hours and see nobody", "it's exploring and walking wherever you want within the limits, its, its isolation" (Stephen, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). There are of course areas that are closed off to the public but the relative ease in which you can walk where you like reinforces the contrast between the urban and the moor, producing a different sense and expression of bodily posture and engagement with the surroundings. Ryan replies with a similar feeling of isolation from the urban and people, "we left there at about ten o'clock in the morning and we didn't see anybody until we got back at three to four o'clock" (Ryan, Dartmoor Rambler and Devon Areas Access Officer, 2006). The isolation from the day to day, whether people or work provides others with the chance to rejuvenate their mental state and it is the specific environment/landscape of the moor that provides this opportunity. One of the informants, Phil a member of the Dartmoor Ramblers, comments how Dartmoor is a wonderful place to relax and if he has any problems or stresses Dartmoor is a place where he can usually solve those problems. Phil mentions how walking the coastal path he could probably solve his problems as well but the moor is "a very pleasant, very attractive, very heart consoling place (Phil, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). This demonstrates how not only walking is important in 'walking out your emotions' but also how the specific environment is important in the kinaesthetic experience and engagement of both the mind and body together. This is further expressed in Phil's desire to also be scattered on Dartmoor in the tranquillity and beauty which he finds while alive and which will also be there in his death. The specific environment of Dartmoor is also important for Sarah as an area she finds solace and when things go bad it is a place she can go to, "it's my sanity" (Sarah, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Sarah also mentions how Dartmoor "takes over you" and how the coastal path does not have that affect. To consider a landscapes 'affect' or more specifically Dartmoor's 'affect' is to appreciate its intensity, presence and strength which ranges over the sensations and emotions of the subjects who feel (Wylie 2005:236), releasing people's thoughts and emotions, but conversely it also plays a fundamental role in 'fixing' any problems or

emotional stresses. Such emotional responses that were given demonstrate the moors corporeality, it is more than just a landscape it is a place replete with people's emotions.

5.6.1 Seasons/Weather

As well as tangible aspects/features of the Moor, such as its archaeology which create and form experiences and engagements with the Moor, the changing seasons and weather are also important aspects in both the bodily and sensory experiences of Dartmoor and part of (re)constructing peoples' memories and engagements with both Dartmoor, the elements and for James with the below example, space.

To walk is a direct engagement with your surroundings and part of the acquirement of knowledge of your surroundings. As Ingold & Lee Vergunst write in the introduction to *'Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot'* (2008), and again relating to the work of Elizabeth Curtis whose study focuses on children between 5-12 and the relationship between walking and learning during structured walks around Aberdeen, they write, "they make their way on foot to school and back absorbing as they do the sights, sounds, feel and smells of their surroundings through varying weather and changing seasons" (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008: 4). With comparison to the rambling groups and individuals who walk Dartmoor, their close intimacy and understanding of the Moor as a whole is created via their bodily involvement absorbing the constant changing character of the landscape; "There are lots of specific things that are joined together like, the smell when I was a child. We would come up here and it smelt so beautiful, so different and different smells to the sea (where Julie lived but had little connection to), and that invokes different feelings. Another thing is the granite, I just love the granite and the walls and the tors, and the shapes of the hills and the sort of mossy woody patches that you get in-between" (Julie, felt maker, 2006). Changing seasons and weather patterns have an important affect on our bodily and sensory experiences, and the weather/seasons lies at the root of our moods and motivations, and is our very temperament (Ingold 2010: 122). Whether these are collective engagements as part of a walking group or at particular times of the year, for example New Years Eve, it is both the visual and the skin as a sensory organ (Lee Vergunst & Ingold 2006, Ingold 2010) that are important here. As highlighted previously the role of walking and environment can be seen as a process of reflection and releasing emotional responses. The following examples demonstrate how seasons and weather are part of a bodily-

environment interaction in constructing people's memories and engagements with Dartmoor.

In my own experiences of walking and travelling over and around Dartmoor during my fieldwork, the changes in seasons and the way in which the weather could change from sunshine to a sudden thick mist took me through a wave of emotional responses from relaxation and warmth to fear and cold. Similarly, I was struck by the change from winter to summer in the clarity of the natural light. During the autumn and winter months on a bright sunny day the light was clear and crisp compared to the haziness of the summer sun on the Moor. Naturally different seasons will have different vegetation, on Dartmoor the reduction of bracken during the autumn and winter months makes life much easier when walking in certain areas and finding archaeology. In contrast the re-growth of bracken brings with it a particular smell. On hot spring and summer days the new budding bracken and evaporating water from the peat produces a particularly pungent almost body odour smell in localised areas and one that triggers the memory of similar smells and experiences in other areas of the moor and also off it. There are many other memories I have from my engagements with Dartmoor and the changing seasons/weather. I found walking in the mist a time for personal reflection as my visual field was reduced to a few metres around me and sound becomes dampened. During winter the audibility of the rivers increases with more water running off the land and into them, the sound of walking through crisp frozen grass, and on the higher areas it bends over with the weight of the ice and the sun light makes them sparkle. The changing weather brings with it a change in the materiality and textures of the landscape and multi-sensual effects of sound, smell and tactilities as well as the visual add to and change the embodied experiences and engagements people have with the Moor. The weather and changing seasons are for the walker and body an all-enveloping infusion (Ingold 2010: 131)

Several interviewed mentioned the weather and how this is both part of a challenge using your navigational skills but also battling against the elements. The mist is a particular feature that is mentioned in both the challenge it brings and how it changes the perception of certain aspects of the landscape. The affect of the mist came up during one of the interviews; "I was asked to take a guided walk for a Methodist Minister and his wife. It was thick, thick mist and I said that there was no point going out onto the tops because you won't see anything. He said; no, no we want to go out. I said you won't see anything. He said; I know, we really would like to go out, right out, take us

out." (Matt, Photographer, 2006). When I asked Matt if he found out why he wanted to go out he replied "he was very religious and he just wanted the experience of going out in the thick mist" (Matt, Photographer, 2006). For the Methodist Minister the walk follows a peripatetic tradition of reflection and contemplation, immersing his body in the mist is a rare occasion where visual distractions are taken away, sounds become muffled, creating an environment that is conducive to commune with God. It is also interesting to note that during the late 1800s excursions onto Dartmoor were intended to experience the mist, it wasn't the scenery, but the mist that created the initial bodily involvement. The mist heightens the synaesthetic experience and propriocetion of the body which in some cases may induce feelings of fear and anxiety. The kinaesthesia of the body becomes more aware of the your local and immediate surroundings taking in every move and undulations, the sensing carnal body becomes totally immersed in gaining knowledge of the ground underfoot; is it soft, hard, uneven.

For enthusiastic ramblers/walkers on Dartmoor the mist and bad weather affords the chance to test their navigational skills and pit themselves against the elements. The walker, weather and environment become embroiled in a kind of battle against each other "the weather's foul and you think if you want to go out, part of you is, why on earth did I come out on a day like this, the other part is; I've got to challenge this. When you get home and you get dried out and warmed up and something to eat, you say to yourself, that was good out there today, because of the challenge of it. You're battling against the weather partly and the challenge of navigation; it's the two together (Ryan, Dartmoor Rambler and Devon Access Area Officer, 2006). James also comments, "the mist comes down and you're struggling to see where you're going and testing yourself and your navigational skills against the elements and finding somewhere such as Spurrell's Cross, which is difficult at the best of times, is a considerable sense of achievement" (James, Dartmoor walker and member of the Dartmoor Rescue Team, 2006). Walking in such conditions and over difficult terrain is a whole kinaesthetic engagement with the weather, the Moor and the navigational skills involved and it is realising the corporeal nature of the body to look back at what you have just done and to have that sense of 'personal achievement', but also perhaps a sense of 'being alive' just as people feel after a rush of adrenaline creating a heightened bodily awareness of themselves and their surroundings. It is also comparable to a 'rites of passage' in which people demonstrate and prove both to themselves and others their physical and mental

strengths but also their practical skills to survive hostile conditions and in turn perhaps raising their position in the hierarchy of the walking/rambling fraternity.

The changing seasons and weather not only afford challenges to the walker but they are also fundamental to the creation and re-creation of memories specific to a place and time that stick in the mind of the individual and are remembered as unique engagements with Dartmoor. Becky describes how while walking on Dartmoor she has experienced very rare weather conditions which create a very different engagement with an otherwise familiar landscape. It is during such occasions that the materiality of the weather has a substantial impact on her sensory experience and engagement with the materiality of Dartmoor. It useful to consider the concept of 'affect' and the changes in mood, tenor, colour or intensity of places and situations (Wylie 2005: 236) that is created by changing weather and seasons, and in this case by the 'Dartmoor Amyl' and the 'Spectre' created by the sun and mist. Becky describes how she loves being on Dartmoor during the snow and how everything becomes iced over with icicles hanging from the tors. She continues to describe her experience of 'Dartmoor Amyl', a phenomenon she has only witnessed and experienced once; "It's not very often, we were on the north moor when it happened and you just experience it as a really cold mist, all the grass, every blade of grass gets covered in fine ice, everything, even the rocks get covered, completely covered" (Becky, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The affect of the 'Dartmoor Amyl' produces a new experiential engagement with the moor, watching the mist move and cover everything it touches in ice as if "someone had sprayed them" (Becky, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). At the end of the extract Becky mentions her sadness that due to global warming this phenomena will probably not happen again, further enhancing the uniqueness of the experience.

The changes in season and particular weather have an important role in the memory of particular events and the place where that event took place. James mentions how he remembers the clear nights in the middle of winter "and the stars you see are fabulous" (James, Dartmoor Walker and member of the Dartmoor Rescue Team), he has one particular memory related to being on a certain Tor -Brat Tor- and seeing the comet Hail Bop pass over. Another memory he has is with other members of the rescue team, walking out one time around dusk, he remembers reaching a spoil tip in an area called Left Lake in the south of the moor and resting for a cup of coffee, as they sat down the whole landscape turned bright orange from the setting sun. Such an example demonstrates the sociability of walking in the shared memories that they all

experienced, it also highlights the importance of the intensity of the experience as he remembers the precise locations at which it occurred, a location which I have visited myself and is similar to any other spoil tip in that particular part of the moor. Weather becomes inextricably linked with Place Memory (Casey 2000). For Sarah, seeing in the New Millennium on Dartmoor at a place called Peek Hill was not to do with the intensity of colour but the way in which the mist hid aspects of the landscape creating a very different visual experience. She commented how standing in the location of Peek Hill looking out over the lowlands the mist had covered the valleys below creating the sense that they were on a mountain, "It was really weird and a good atmosphere, it's something to remember" (Sarah, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The mist also has an effect on changing your perceptual awareness of your surroundings as Becky mentions, "you see the trees and the landscape all looking funny shapes and it seems to highlight the things that you would otherwise just pass by" (Becky, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The mist and sunlight also creates a phenomenon called the 'Spectre' which Becky has only experienced once or twice. This is created when you get light from behind you creating a silhouette of your body onto the mist forming an almost giant like figure, Becky continued, "it's a very atmospheric sort of place in that sense, I think because the weather changes so quickly on the moor as well, more so than maybe some other hilly districts" (Becky, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The aim of the above examples has been to demonstrate how seasons and weather patterns are important factors in creating both Place Memory (Casey 2000) and how the materiality of the weather has a fundamental impact upon the sensory experience of walking and landscape perception. It is here with the changing weather and seasons that the concept of 'affect' (Wylie 2005) is helpful in highlighting the changes those familiar places go through in becoming unfamiliar, different and memorial.

5.7 Conclusion

There are many ways in how the materiality of Dartmoor affects people and become embodied experiences. The above interviews have attempted to demonstrate these from a section of people who visit Dartmoor regularly and live there. The act of walking, not necessarily in groups, is the primary mode in which people bodily engage with and inhabit Dartmoor and its many aspects. This in itself may not seem a particularly insightful comment, as for many people walking is a good way to get exercise, relax and

unwind and to see different environments, both urban and rural, up close and personally. However, once you start to enquire what it is about Dartmoor, its overall materiality if you like, then you begin to gain an insight and feeling into Dartmoor's presence. To feel is not just to touch, an act in what we *do*, but is what we *are* it is the commingling of the perceiver with the world that is inhabited (Ingold's emphasis 2007b: 29).

I started off by introducing Tin Ingolds (2007c) critique of materiality where his opposition towards it is due to the fact that it cannot be touched (Ingold 2007c) and we should instead focus in the material and how they are part of the perceiving and experiencing body. To study the material involved in how people perceive and experience is an important part of the investigation. However, such an approach is very asocial and it is necessary to study the social settings in which material culture is engaged (Knappett 2007). The moving body and specifically walking has been the main focus for studying how people engage with Dartmoor. The Moor is the overriding social setting in which engagement and the embodiment of experiences occurs. Within this setting of Dartmoor there are a number of individual social settings that are co-ingredients (Casey 2001) in how people inhabit Dartmoor, these include aspects such as the archaeology, changing weather and seasons, the granite and the Swallow. Through walking the body, people and the social settings on the Moor become interwoven and have specific effects on how people experience and perceive the Moor. They have an agency and one of 'abduction' (Gell 1998) where people draw inferences from a thing in an analogous manner (Tilley 2008a: 30), so for example when Richard talks about Dartmoor having been heavily exploited but the scars become covered and it "still stands up" he is referring to the Moor as analogous to that of a living body which has been battered and bruised. However, its tenacity and ability to mend itself enables it to keep living and never lie down. The agency of Dartmoor and its many elements is one that initiates causal sequences of a particular type, that is, events caused by acts of will or intention (Gell 1998: 16 from Tilley 2008a: 30). The intention of things is second to that of people because they do not have minds, but acquire agency through being enmeshed in human social relationships (Tilley 2008: 30). The example of Abbie joining an art course was due to her worry that as she gets older and cannot walk as much she can still be part of Dartmoor by painting, similarly, the change noted in Sally's art work was due to her body going into the Moor forming a recursive

relationship between herself and the many elements water, colour, woods in which she experiences by walking and inhabiting Dartmoor.

The common theme among the ramblers that draw them to Dartmoor, along with their enjoyment of the outdoors, is the challenge that the Moor presents both physically with its rough terrain and mentally with its issues of navigation especially in thick mist and testing one's self against the elements, together these fulfil a sense of achievement and empowerment. Again, this may not seem particularly interesting or surprising but it is worth noting that the act of walking itself and the challenge that this creates are both part of the bodily, sensory and emotional engagements with the moor, a way of understanding and getting 'under the skin of Dartmoor'. As one interviewee says "you get the people going out at the weekends with their paper and having a cup of tea, oooo I've spent the day on Dartmoor they say, well they have but they haven't been *into* Dartmoor" (Phil, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). Those interviewed would comment on the number of people who visit Dartmoor but only park their cars in the car parks or by the side of the road and rarely venturing a few metres onto the moor. Of course, this has to do with other issues, such as how some use and engage with the moor differently to others and may possibly have something to do with peoples' perceptions of Dartmoor as a wild and scary place. For example, in talking to a visitor who had extensively walked in Scotland and had come to Dartmoor as part of their Princes Trust Award, asking what she associated with the word Dartmoor the response was "scary", and indeed this sense of intimidation that the moor creates for many people and highlighted by some of the walkers interviewed imbues the moor with an agency that can worry and spook people, "I've rarely walked on my own and I had to recce a walk, just this summer, on my own. I had got quite a way in, and I was out of my comfort area where I knew and I'd crossed loads of bogs and I didn't know this area. I suddenly got spooked, really really spooked, nobody knew I was there and I hadn't seen a soul all day and I got really quite spooked by it" (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006). The moor's presence is both inviting and cautionary, by walking, by closely engaging with it you begin to understand it. This was expressed by Sally's quote; "What I find really interesting about it is it took a long time, it took a long time (to get comfortable) it wasn't a search it was just a feeling just being in a place and not anything specific but just going out into it." (Sally, textile artist, 2006).

Such understanding is practical; what ground is walkable and judging the terrain in front of you and what features are what, but also memorial and emotional. The

archaeology creates a deeper dimension to the Moor not simply as an area to be walked, but as a constantly living and changing landscape. The archaeology is an engagement of the past in the present, constructing a biography of the Moor's changing character. This is further enhanced by the changing seasons and weather both adding to the challenge but also to one's sensory and bodily engagement that forms distinct memories and experiences, as with the Dartmoor amyl or the changing colours of the vegetation; "it's interesting to see the different aspects of the tors and they're not all the same. Some are quite soft and gentle looking and others, especially in the mist stand out and seem to look bigger" (Becky, Dartmoor Rambler 2006).

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate how a number of people who visit Dartmoor in a specific way -walking/rambling- are not simply there to use Dartmoor for their own needs or ends, but are involved in a relationship where the Moor gives them multiple experiences and is a repository of memories. This is highlighted by Matt's friend and colleague's walk across the Moor and Ian's last walk with his mother, then re-constructing that memory by taking his brother to the same spot; the scattering of friends' ashes on the Moor and for some continuing that engagement by wanting to be scattered there once they die. The overall aim was to demonstrate the social framework which exists between people and the Moor and how a consideration of sociality between the two enables an understanding of the Moor's materiality and Being.

The following chapter is again concerned with particular modes of habitation and how people embody and create/sustain attachments with the world of Dartmoor. However, where there has been a specific focus in the above chapter and sections on walking as a particular mode of inhabitation linked with other aspects such as archaeology, the weather and the landscape, the next chapter focuses on the third strand of the study which is how modern representations are a form of embodying peoples' experiences. The chapter and individual sections, demonstrate how both identity and conservation are linked together in constructing and 'making' place on Dartmoor, and also how identity and how people who live and work on Dartmoor are deeply interwoven not just with the physical landscape but also with the role that animals and in particular 'indigenous' animals have in building and constructing peoples' sense of 'dwelling' on the Moor. In the first section, there is a description of how Dartmoor has been imaged/imagined through the textual analysis of how Dartmoor has been written about. Then, in the second section there will be a discussion that will examine how

identity and experience on Dartmoor are constructed by the constituent elements of the 'lived-in' and 'worked-in' landscape.

Part IV: Imaging Dartmoor

Chapter 6

Methodology part 3

6.1 Representations of Dartmoor

Dartmoor's physical position in the centre of Devon has a strong and powerful presence on peoples' psyche. Their perceptions and experiences of Dartmoor have been informed and continue to be formed by its marginal appearance compared to the rest of Devon. Undoubtedly, this marginal appearance of treeless expanses and rugged tors has constructed the image and identity associated with Dartmoor and continues to inform its conservation. However, as with almost every landscape in England, Dartmoor is a "landscape of artifice" (Garner 2001 after Cloke 1994) and particularly, as Andrew Garner (2001) writes of The New Forest, it is the artifice for natural countryside that is being deployed in increasingly urgent debates over the future of rural landscapes (Garner 2001: 133). It is this notion of a 'natural countryside', and one that is further enforced by Dartmoor's marginal appearance to the rest of Devon, that is important in how people 'make' places within its landscape and how the various agencies/authorities draw up and implement issues of conservation. This chapter and individual sections, will deal with ideas of identity and attempt to demonstrate how both identity and conservation are linked together in constructing and 'making' place on Dartmoor, and also how identity and how people who live and work on Dartmoor are deeply interwoven not just with the physical landscape but also with the role that animals and in particular 'indigenous' animals have in building and constructing peoples' sense of 'dwelling' on the Moor. In the first section, there is a description of how Dartmoor has been imaged/imagined through the textual analysis of how Dartmoor has been written about. Then, in the second section there will be a discussion that will examine how identity and experience on Dartmoor are constructed by the constituent elements of the 'lived-in' and 'worked-in' landscape. Only rarely would any discussion of Dartmoor not make reference to its animal life -perhaps most notably its ponies and sheep. These have featured so often in film, literature and photography that they have become the standard image of the region, almost like picturesque emblems. Indeed, the Dartmoor Pony is the central element of the park's emblem as the Red deer is for Exmoor. I hope to demonstrate how the animals sustain and conserve the ecology of the Moor and

influence the lives and actions of the farming communities. Far from being the subservient objects of human needs, their patterns of behaviour help direct human response economically and emotionally.

6.1.1 The Dartmoor Image

Dartmoor, to many writers is a country/landscape of "otherness" and an area trapped by time in some fossilised state, "regions like this, which have come down to us rude and untouched from the beginning of time, fill the mind with grand conceptions, far beyond the efforts of art and cultivation (Gilpin from Rowe 1848: 1). The view from the lowlands up to Dartmoor is equally important in forming the viewer's perception of the Moor. William Howitt in his '*Rural Life of England*' writes, "I shall never forget the feelings of delicious entrancement with which I approached the outskirts of Dartmoor" (Rowe 1848: 2).

Undoubtedly the book and story that has most effect on peoples' perceptions of Dartmoor is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* where a marauding hound pursues its victims over the lonesome and desolate moor. The image constructed of the Moor is that of a dangerous and inhospitable place. Folklore and stories further emphasise the ability of Dartmoor to inspire awe and dread. For example, there is the story of 'Childe The Hunter', a wealthy landowner who is caught in a blizzard whilst out hunting on the Moor, succumbs to the cold and dies with his body never being found. Also, the story of Walter Bonescombe, the Bishop of Exeter, which recounts how during on one of his Episcopal journeys he becomes lost in the mist on Dartmoor long enough to make him desperately hungry, so hungry that he is prepared to sell his soul to the Devil, in the form of a Moorman, for food. This perception of Dartmoor is certainly one which many of the early writings on Dartmoor repeat and many people still do - "I have a friend that I used to teach with and he's frightened of Dartmoor, literally frightened of it he doesn't think it's a nice place, he says it frightens him." (Matt, Photographer, 2006). Another interviewee responded "I think it's something to do with the Dartmoor environment that you either love or hate and I don't know what it is, it fascinates me really. I don't think Dartmoor has a welcoming feel, there's something about Dartmoor, it is very subtle, I think it sinks into you, it's not immediately beautiful." (Graham, Dartmoor walker and journalist, 2006). The affective agency which Dartmoor has on people is a common theme in a number of sources and

can be summed up well by Douglas Gordon's *Dartmoor in all its moods* (1931). The title itself refers to the many changes through which the Moor is experienced, perceived and these changing moods are given an affective quality in which the presence of Dartmoor, can never be taken for granted "for even in her gentler moods the spirit of the Moor is grim if not sinister....even when the landscape is bathed in its full warmth of summer sunshine and colour there is a lurking sense of menace, of grim possibility" (Gordon 1931: 1). The Moor's affective agency is not only confined to its own immediate world but far beyond, "the atmosphere of Dartmoor extends far from her mere geographical boundaries. It haunts the banks of every stream whose waters had birth far up on the wastes of Cranmere" (Gordon 1931: 9).

The many different elements of stream/river, tor, granite, mist, ponies are intrinsic to the 'make up' of Dartmoor. For example, the granite and specifically the tors, are part of the Moor's very identity, "Tors define Dartmoor for the visitor both from 'up-county' and from abroad, let alone those from within Devon" (Mercer 2009: 6). Along with the rivers and ponies, the tors are so characteristic of Dartmoor they form a recurring theme in paintings, photos and have been extensively written about. They are the characteristic feature of the Dartmoor hills and whether they are described in scientific terms of weathering and physical properties or have been the work of "winter's wizard hands" (Crossing 1967: 21), the tors and clitter are a fundamental characteristic of the Moor's topography. Hoskins refers to them and their changing character as "demonic silhouettes (that) resemble the man-made statues of Easter Island" (Hoskins 1954: 15). Crossing writes about them as the "Granite Crown of Devon" (Crossing 1967) "from their tops one may look down from them and read the modern Dartmoor. Man has done something here, but when the beholder again looks upon the dusty sweeps that roll away into the blue distance, he realises how little it is" (Crossing 1981: 85).

Baring-Gould (1982: 15) refers to the views of the tors from off Dartmoor as "that of a dust sheet thrown over the dining room chairs, the backs of which resemble the tors divided from one another by easy sweeps of turf". Indeed it is the tors that are undoubtedly the landmarks of Dartmoor. Howitt refers to them as those glowing ruddy tors standing in the blue air in their sublime silence (see figure 6.1 of Haytor) (Rowe 1848: 3). The capping of many of the hills around the moorland edge with a tor, has likened the Moor to a castle where the mysterious shadowy hills and rock formations encircle it like a rampart, while moated by deep valleys which wind around its base and are replenished by streams (Rowe 1848: 6). Views from the tors provide a great

opportunity to fully experience the rounded and undulating landscape of Dartmoor, and although perhaps a little clichéd one does feel elevated and detached from the surrounding landscape. The wealth of Crossing's work is in the detail in which he describes everything that is worthy of seeing and especially its topographic description. Crossing writes of North Hisworthy Tor, that while no means striking in its appearance its chief reward is the view from the summit. From it he writes that one may look down from the crest of Hisworthy and read the modern Dartmoor (Crossing 1981: 85). Northward and southward are the untamed hills, rising grim and bare, vast tracts where nothing of man's work is seen. Between these wild tracts lies the more sheltered part, where the settler has formed his enclosures, and planted his few trees and made his roads. Man has does something here, but when the beholder again looks upon the dusty sweeps that roll away into the blue distance, he realises how little it is (Crossing 1981: 85).

Figure 6.1. Haytor is one of the most visited of the Dartmoor tors and affords extensive views out across southern Dartmoor and to the coast (By author).

To take just this one feature of the Moor, authors such as Rowe, Crossing and Baring-Gould are representing the agential qualities of the Moor. Their representations are more than simply mirroring the topography, but are vital in holding that place and those features in our minds to see them with fresh and clear vision when we do finally encounter them (Trezise 2000: xi). Although Trezise is referring to fictional regional texts specifically, the same is still relevant for representations -textual and visual- that are regionally specific and non-fictional. The textual representations of the tors are not simply illustrating their qualities but open them up to the senses and the mind, representing a landscape that is different and heterogeneous.

The structured interviews carried out with visitors on Dartmoor contained the question "What do you associate with Dartmoor?" Out of the forty interviews twenty-six highlighted the presence of animals in general and twenty responded with ponies in particular. There were twenty responses mentioning tors, fifteen responses with water/streams, seven of its bleakness and other responses ranged through mist, views/scenery, open space and smell. Although perhaps not particularly objective or quantitative, and while responses to the questions would invariably be opened ended and discursive, the interesting point to make is that when asked if literature or tourist literature had informed their perception and desire to come to Dartmoor only three out of the forty said it had. Again, this is a complex question, especially when concerned with issues of tourism and what is a tourist (McCabe 2005). Many of those interviewed lived within Devon or in the surrounding towns and villages and so to call them a tourist would be inaccurate. This point was highlighted by Owen a park employee who said that a better or more appropriate term would perhaps be *visiting industry*. This term is very useful when considering tourism in the context of places such as Dartmoor and the role of literature and pictorial representations in informing peoples' actions in coming or experiencing an area. What is meant by this is that although many lived and came to Dartmoor from within Devon, the other primary motivation for those who had come from outside Devon and the south-west came from memories they had of previous experiences. Respondents ranged in ages from the elderly, often with mobility issues to couples with young children who wished to share with their families their own experiences of climbing, running and walking the Moor. To visit or re-visit memories and past experiences is part of a person's continued engagement. Whereas the word tourist/tourism are highly loaded terms with multiple social and cultural meanings and experiences (McCabe 2005, Uriely 2005, Wickens 2002), visiting implies a more

intimate involvement and an embodied experience through a physical engagement and is exemplified by Crossing's quote "those who have once set foot upon Dartmoor, who have climbed its giant tors, have listened to the plaintive music of its streams, or have passed into its solitary places, where the cry of the curlew alone is heard, will, if they be true lovers of nature ever feel longing to *revisit*" (my emphasis, Crossing 1986: 10). It is not the representations of Dartmoor that influence peoples' perceptions or invoke memories, but the affective qualities of the Moor and those memories and experiences that are stored and released within the body. It is the Moor's overall presence, its topography and weather that creates and sustains peoples' feelings towards it and is expressed strongly within the literature. These bodily responses, both kinaesthetic and synaesthetic inform how the Moor is represented and following the quote by Graham perhaps explains why tourist literature was not that important to those interviewed.

As mentioned in the chapter on 'Dartmoor's Characteristics', William Camden in 1586 describes Dartmoor as "Squalida Montana Dertmore". Risdon apologizes for detaining the reader "on a place so wild, with so slender repast, where it is to be doubted you have taken the cold, or the cold hath caught you" (Worth 1953: 3) and W. G. Maton (1794-6) in his '*Observations on the Western Counties of England*' writes of Dartmoor as the "most dreary tract of land than that over which we passed over. The soil is exceedingly swampy and moist, and covered with bog moss through which our horses' legs penetrated knee deep at every step" (Gibson 1967). This view of Dartmoor persisted up until the nineteenth century, and William Crossing reflecting how little had been written about Dartmoor observes that it "could be referred to as almost unknown" (Crossing 1967: 156). It is during this century that Dartmoor became increasingly an area of scientific study. In the 1820s Thomas Northmore correctly recorded and dated the reave system. The Rev. Samuel Rowe and colleagues from the Plymouth Institution began antiquarian and scientific studies on the Moor and Henry De La Beche, in 1839, published the *Report on the Geology of Cornwall, Devon and West Somerset* (Beeson & Greeves 1993). With the increased antiquarian and scientific study of the Moor came a growing awareness of harm and damage to Dartmoor's environment. As a result Rev. Samuel Rowe wrote in 1848 *A Perambulation of the Ancient and Royal Forest of Dartmoor*. The book was the result of an essay on the antiquarian interests of the Forest of Dartmoor, originally read before the Plymouth Institution in 1828 to provide information on an area that "was little known to the neighbourhood and the country in general" (Rowe 1848: i). He writes of the Moor as a 'rocky citadel' that was being over

powered by the quarries, powder mills and cultivation 'smiting its corners'. The Moor is very much seen as the last of a wilderness area slowly being taken over by commercial speculation and economic improvement.

William Crossing piles great praise on the book and says that "as the title would imply, it is written in the form of a perambulation of the Moor and the starting point chosen is Cosdon, the same place whence the old perambulators set out to view the bounds of the forest". He continues, "the line that they followed is departed from as occasion arises to conduct the reader to various places of interest, and in this manner he is led around the Moor" (Crossing 1967: 164). The walk is a clear example of the way walking is the process of physically engaging with the landscape. The title itself copies that given to the process of walking the bounds of the forest in the Thirteenth Century. Through the walk, Rowe is placing his body in the landscape and that same landscape walked eight hundred years earlier. In this way it is a political statement against the despoiling and destruction of Dartmoor. Rowe writes how vestiges of the Moor "its tors are fantastic mases against the sky as they first frowned in the uncertain dawn of time, the granite wrecks of some original convulsion still lie scattered in most admired disorder. The roar of many antient rivers foaming along its rock bound channel beaks upon the still silence of the waste, as it did hundreds of ages ago" (Rowe 1848: 14). Dartmoor is perceived as a landscaped trapped by time in a fossilised state, and could easily be lost if not cared for. His many topographical descriptions throughout the book are twofold; one explaining the many features, the other providing a depth of time in which he employs his sensuous experiences to enable the listener and reader to share the full bodily experience of the Moor "the sighing wind, suddenly wrapping him (the walker) in a mist wreath" (Rowe 1848: 75). The walk and book can be seen as statements highlighting the uniqueness of the Moor and urging a concern for its welfare.

The book is not perhaps strictly a 'Phenomenological Walk' (Tilley 2008a, 2008b) but at the same time there are many similarities and the walk itself is given an agency for Crossing writes that it is "the *line* that they followed....and in this manner he (Rowe) is led around the Moor" (my emphasis, Crossing 1967: 164). The line equals the path and paths are replete with past lives and past bodies walking along them, life is lived along paths (Ingold 2000, 2007a, Tilley 1994, 2008, 2008b). I say that the Perambulation is not strictly a Phenomenological Walk *per se* as the writing/text is a personal account of the Moor and his is perhaps a description of his experiences within an autobiographical self (Tilley 2008: 271). Rowe is less concerned with how

relationships of features affect his encounters. However, the book is undoubtedly the first that actually took the body on a walk that was part of a participatory engagement with the Dartmoor Landscape and its multi sensory elements. The fact that the route was, as historical records show, that taken by those in the past (and indeed Rowe starts from Cosdon Beacon where the original walk began) is literally connecting the past to the present, "the present is where we meet the past in and through the medium of our carnal bodies. We meet then, 'here', in a place and in a landscape, in stasis and in movement, through the medium of the walk" (Tilley 2008a: 270-271). The importance of Rowe's book is fundamental to how future books were written and how authenticity of the engagements would be measured. The individual features which Rowe describes from tors to streams and specific areas such as Cranmere Pool form the basis of future descriptions, and while this may seem obvious as they are the topographically distinct elements in the 'make-up' of the Moor, Rowe applied metaphorical associations to the features to capture the imagination of the reader. Walking and its physical experiential properties become the basis of future writing on Dartmoor and again highlight Graham's quote on the subtlety of the Moor and how its beauty has to be bodily experienced.

In Crossing's *Hundred Years on Dartmoor* (1901, reprinted 1967) he reveals his annoyance that the texts being written in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so "disfigured with mistakes as almost to make one wish they had not been written at all" (Crossing 1967: 158). His main argument is that many of these texts do not illustrate a close acquaintance with the Moor and that descriptions only inform the visitor of what they should see and then only the areas of most noteworthy are suggested. To truly understand and feel the Moor you must not only walk and immerse yourself within it, but a detailed understanding and explanation of its individual elements is vital to an understanding of its subtle beauties and the authenticity of the text. Those elements that are not 'traditionally' perceived as 'wondrous' such as the bogs and mires are now given the respect that their qualities deserve. The bogs and mires of Dart Head, Broad Marsh, Walla Brook in the north of the Moor and Aune (Avon) Head and Fox Tor Mire in the south were once called the 'Dartmoor Stables' on account of ponies finding a "resting place" in them (Crossing 1981). Folklore associates the bog at the foot of Vixen Tor as the place where Vixana the Witch lured in unsuspecting people to their death, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle uses the fear and death associated with bogs/mires in the final resting place he gives the murderer Jack Stapleton in *The Hound of the*

Baskervilles. The bogs and mires are rarely represented in pictures or photos- they are not visually engaging and their association with death is a powerful deterrent. However, in literature concerned with the specifics of the Moor they are sometimes given a female agency in their feeding of the rivers that flow to the lowlands. This is aptly summed up by Baring-Gould who refers to how "she sends them forth limpid and pure, full of laughter and leap" (Baring-Gould 1981: 2). The bogs and mires are the sources through which the waters are fed and maintained sometimes referred to as parental bogs, further emphasising a caring gentle quality.

The work of both Crossing and Baring-Gould do well to dispel the myth of Dartmoor as a desert compared to the productive and enclosed lowlands. Baring-Gould writes about the golden yellow furze which grows next to and in the bogs, as affording the honey bee nectar that produces honey which is a sublimated essence of ambrosial sweetness and in contrast to the much relished Swiss honey which is a manufactured product of glycerine and pear juice (Baring-Gould 1981: 13). He illustrates a landscape far removed from the dark, windswept idea of the Moor and dispels the myth of treacherous bogs where such beauty can exist. Increasingly a number of texts began to stress the need to use time and patience in experiencing the nuances of Dartmoor -to 'bring in' the Moor- in contrast to the host of motorists who "for some inexplicable reason, really believe that they have exhausted the delights of Dartmoor after crossing it at fifty miles an hour. The only man who can be said to be even beginning to know the Moor is he who has actually penetrated to Cranmere Pool" (Mais 1928: 82). Cranmere Pool is a place that forms a central locale in how a person is perceived to have truly experienced Dartmoor. For Rowe, Crossing, Baring-Gould, Mais and those I interviewed, to walk to Cranmere Pool is a full bodily experience of Dartmoor. This particular location is famous for being the first place on Dartmoor to have a letterbox in 1854. This is not a letterbox in the postal sense, but part of an activity similar to orienteering where you locate a box and leave a card or stamp to record your achievement. In 1854 to have reached this area was to demonstrate that you had met the challenge of coping with the remote and inhospitable terrain of this part of Dartmoor. Mais (1928: 84) sums up some of the feeling that Dartmoor literature can evoke "it is the fashion of the times to dismiss Cranmere with a sneer, and on a fine day it is easy to laugh at the alarmist as one takes the pool in one's stride en route from Chagford to Tavistock, but it is very well worth while endeavouring to reach the pool on a stormy

day, and at all seasons of the year if you want to soak yourself in the atmosphere of the true Dartmoor".

Throughout its literature, Dartmoor is commonly referred to in a similar manner. Descriptions and metaphors refer to it as a timeless place and stress the many contrasts that will be found there. Similarly, the many features from the tors, rivers/streams, bog/mires, mist, flora and fauna are all highlighted and given an agency where the landscape is seen as living, having a personality, for example referring to it as a 'Mother' and the 'Old Moor'. These provide the reader with an overview of the many features and contrast with the perceived desolation of Dartmoor. The true feeling for the Moor comes across through the kinaesthetic and synaesthetic intertwining or following Ingold (2007b, 2010) *enwining* between Dartmoor and the body and how it feels the very materiality that is the Dartmoor world. Smith writes that there is no best time to walk the Moor, but there is a right and wrong way. "When you walk the Moor matters less than how you walk it. There is a wrong way and I learned it in 1937, when my colleagues strode grimly, compass in one hand, watch in the other, making Cranmere Pool a destination as though to walk without a destination is to wander nowhere. The way to walk Dartmoor is to walk nowhere, without a watch or any regard for time, standing and staring and listening to the larks (Smith 1969: 159). In the rest of her chapter 'Rambling the Moor' in a *Portrait of Dartmoor* (1969) it is through walking that you become knowledgeable and experience Dartmoor and its personality. The way Smith comments on the way to walk the Moor expresses Ingold's (2007a, 2010) modes of movement and knowledge growth where the modalities of wayfaring and transport are part of how people come into being. Likewise, Mais' call for people to walk within a storm to understand the true Dartmoor is akin to the phenomenological body where the physical properties of the Moor become the affective materiality in which experience becomes embodied- "to get in touch with the real Dartmoor you have to walk" (Mais 1928: 86). This bodily immersion is further enhanced by the responses from the structured interviews. When asked "what would be your ideal way of experiencing the Moor?" thirty out of the forty people interviewed responded with "walking". It was not specified whether in groups, pairs or alone but, to walk is seen as a 'real' engagement and something more profound than that of a casual tourist (Edmond 2006).

Entering any of the small town or village shops across Dartmoor, images on postcards or T-towels will be of the many tors across Dartmoor, usually Haytor (see

figure 2.2) or Bowerman's nose, groups of Dartmoor Ponies, archaeological features primarily stone circles or clapper bridges, very often these images will have either a tor in the background. Flicking through a book of photos or paintings of Dartmoor you will be met again by images of tors, ponies, rivers and wooded valleys either as individual features or brought together as a composition. These standard images are used in a context to suggest an experience that is unspoilt and alternative to the everyday lived world. The images continue the perception of an isolated wilderness. More often than not images of animal life and the tors will be devoid of humans and seen in isolation, re-enforcing the notion of a remote landscape. If we consider one set of visual representations in the form of a television programme 'Earth Pilgrim: A Spiritual Journey into the Landscape of Dartmoor' which is part of the BBC Natural World series. From it we are able to note a set of depictions and associations, via the landscape and use of words and images that illustrate and continue to re-affirm the idea of 'rurality' and the 'rural Gaze' in which Dartmoor and the countryside are viewed (see Abram 2003, Cloke 2003 and below in section *From Within Dartmoor*).

The programme follows conservationist and Jain Monk Satish Kumar for a year as he walks through the landscape and changing seasons of Dartmoor with all its changing colours and wildlife. With the images of him walking the Moor there is a constant narrative from Satish Kumar explaining the wildlife and his feelings towards them. Over his narrative there is a constant cutting back and forth of images relating to the Dartmoor landscape and wildlife. As much as the programme can be viewed as a form of regional representation of Dartmoor, expressing the qualities, essence and presence of what is peculiar and different about the Moor, its 'Seity' (see Trezise on Baring-Gould 2000: 176-177). The use of language and photography (film) bring a number of elements about together that form the component features of the Moor. Throughout the film, although tors are never explicitly talked about they form the backdrop to almost the whole programme, appearing in thirty-six shots of the landscape. Tors are brought together with a number of features in different shots to form compositions; water-tree-tor, heather/gorse-tor, Starlings-tor, Emperor moths-tor. Similarly, Satish Kumar refers to the Moor as his cathedral or temple of nature, the camera flies over and pans on to a set of tors. In this way the shape of the tors and their prominent position where they have to be looked up at are given the same resonance and power that is associated with cathedrals and temples.

A section of the programme focuses on Wistman's Wood, one of only three remaining woods on the higher elevations of the Moor. Wistman's Woods is an area imaged time and time again. Type it into Goolge and a number of pages will come up with peoples' photos and sketches of it. Due to its survival it is perceived and imaged as special, sacred and 'peace' -a place of the 'piskies' (pixies). Satish Kumar, with the camera panning over him as he walks along the river into the wood refers to how the ancient cultures or druids and pagans understood about 'peace' and continues to explain how the name, Wistman's Woods refers to the 'woods of the wise' thus "wise people came here for inspiration, celebration and wisdom" (Kumar 2008). Its survival both is both a remnant of the past Moor landscape and in a sense a direct link back to that past and a visual and bodily engagement with the past. The very 'look' of the wood with its gnarled oak trees covered in moss and ferns, growing out of the gaps between granite boulders, themselves covered in moss and lichen makes it an atmospheric place and continues the association and ideas of the distant past. At one point he mentions how local myths and legends speak of natures spirits inhabiting the wood. As this is said the camera cuts up close to a tree that is the form of a human with its branches as arms and a head represented by moss for hair and the wood forming a face and trunk as a body.

No other human is featured during the programme apart from Satish Kumar and the only form of human activity shown is in the form of a stone circle at the end of the programme. Nothing is said about the monument, and the camera moves away with him singing and chanting while sitting in front of one of the orthostats. Although one does not want to get carried away with over analysis, this image and in the context of the programme has a degree of a stereotyped view of prehistoric people living in unity with nature. This is especially pertinent for Dartmoor as environmental evidence suggests a substantial degree of anthropogenic activity in shaping Dartmoor.

This brief focus on one specific visual representation of Dartmoor does little justice to the complexities and detail in which a study of images and representations has to have. This would indeed from part of a further more detailed study. Also, the programme is a type of "coffee book table tv" and is specifically about the nature of Dartmoor and to analysis it too much on content would be wrong. However, what is relevant is how language/words and images are brought together to continue the notion of 'rurality' and the 'rural idyll' (Cloke 2003, see also section below *From within Dartmoor*). Such images and their use are powerful in forming peoples' perceptions of a

peaceful Dartmoor and would be surprised to find walkers, horse riders, cyclists, letter boxers, farmers, military, prison and china clay that all make-up Dartmoor.

Throughout its literature from the nineteenth into the twentieth century and demonstrated by the responses from structured interviews, it is via the sensuous and lived body that Dartmoor becomes fully experienced and sensed as a living sentient being with strong affective qualities. The analysis of these texts and the importance of the authors along with representations in general is to preserve and 'bring-out' the locality that they are representing. Writers such as Rowe, Crossing and Baring-Gould - three of the most prestigious regional writers of Dartmoor- are writing 'from' rather than merely 'about' the Moor (Trezise 2000: 233). They are attuned and attentive to every minutiae of the local environment, the different characteristics that make, what may appear at first a homogenised environment/landscape, as different and peculiar. The strength of the texts is their concern for the Moor's 'seity' (Trezise 2000: 177).

6.2 From within Dartmoor

The above section was primarily concerned with a textual account and a brief outline of how the Moor has been written and continues to be experienced and felt by those who visit. The aim was not to highlight how the elements of Dartmoor are written about as those who write about the Moor focus on the characteristics of rivers, tors, bogs/mires and the wealth of life that they provide Dartmoor. The primary aim was to demonstrate how these many elements are to be experienced and how the writers focus on the importance that walking has in truly understanding and feeling the qualities and atmosphere of the Moor. The authentic Dartmoor is to be experienced not simply through the visual, but rather through an intimate bodily involvement. The aim of the following sections is to demonstrate how the idea of the visual still informs the role and implementation of conservation policies and ignores indigenous notions of landscape and conservation. There is also a focus on how animals, in particular the Whitefaced Sheep are vital in the ecology of the Moor and influence the lives and actions of the farming communities.

Designated a National Park in 1951, due to its "special landscape value" (Simon 2006 Park employee). The statutory purposes of the Park Authority are to:

- Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the area.
- Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the areas' 'special qualities' by the public (www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk 2010).

The use of concepts such as "natural beauty" and "special qualities" are very loaded terms and significant in the construction of how in the west we experience landscape, one that is a 'viewing it' as opposed to 'being-in-the-world' (Cloke 2003). Following Garner (2001: 133) much of the landscape 'making' of The New Forest and I would suggest Dartmoor as well is formed by techniques and technologies deployed by those responsible for managing the landscape that is far removed from those who actually do it.

What I suggest is that long held historical notions of the Dartmoor landscape linked with tourist pressures have continued to influence the conservation planning regimes on Dartmoor and ones that privilege the 'Rural Gaze' (Abram 2003) and notions of the 'Rural Idyll' and 'Rurality' (Cloke 2003) as demonstrated by Jeremy's remarks below. This image of what Dartmoor should look like has been created and inherited by the Dartmoor National Park Authority and it is one that ignores the understanding and knowledge of local inhabitants in both conserving the landscape and how they create 'Place'. Beeson & Greeves' (1993) article "*Image Of Dartmoor*" sets out how Dartmoor's landscape has been exploited, written about and experienced from the Saxon Period to the Present day and how tensions between perceptions of Dartmoor as a barren waste or a fruitful resource have had a lengthy existence. The article also highlights how notions of 'landscape' from the Eighteenth Century and Post-War attitudes and philosophies towards Dartmoor as a National Park have predominately been views of a central culture, dominated by 'outsiders' in contrast to those of indigenous local people (Beeson & Greeves 1993). The significance of this article lies in its demonstrating how perceptions of 'landscape', one that privileges the 'visual' and a socially constructed 'vision' has continued to be employed upon the Dartmoor landscape in contrast to contemporary cultural and indigenous understandings of the Moor and its conservation. The following will demonstrate, using examples, how those who work and live on Dartmoor view the landscape in a very different way to the centralised thinking of The National Parks Authorities. It is not the purpose of this

section to criticise the role of National Parks and in particular the Dartmoor National Park Authority, what is important to highlight is that a concern with landscape quality essentially reduces the countryside/landscape to a superficial external view and one that ignores those who live and work it, as demonstrated by Jeremy, a retired farmer,

"My argument with Parke (where the headquarters of the DNPA is located) would be that they couldn't get rid of things quick enough when they were originally formed (as a national park). The type of thing I'm talking about is the Princetown railway, they wanted it gone, out of sight. Out near one of the tors they had an old school house, well what a wonderful educational centre that would be now, but they couldn't knock it down quick enough (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

Do you feel that's got a lot to do with the idea of keeping it as an idealised wilderness?" (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

"Yeah, it's all about trying to get it as it was, but when?! So they want to remove everything..... The military have erected things on Dartmoor, like Pill boxes and things like that, now there's a big move to shift them and get rid of them. The quarrying that's been done on Dartmoor, this is all archaeology, you can't just remove everything and try to pretend it never happened. I mean they're keen enough to maintain the remnants of the tin works because that goes back a bit, but the modern archaeology, whether it's a Pill box made from granite or a bit of railway where they used to carry the targets to shoot at, that is how Dartmoor has been used and any remnant of that is archaeological fact" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

Ultimately, vision in Western societies is assumed to be a very immediate sense, free from the interpretive rigours of other senses (Abram 2003: 31) and it is the visual that constitutes the ultimate evidence and authenticity. For MacCannell (1992, 1999) and Nash (1996) 'authenticity' derives from an imagined world, thought to have 'special characteristics' and 'sprit of place'. This tourist gaze is constructed in contrast to non-tourist forms of social experience and social consciousness (Urry 1990: 2), and this gaze is socially organised and systematised. Abram (2003) adds to Urry's (1990, 2002) notion of 'The Tourist Gaze' and considers the impact of the 'The Rural Gaze' on the countryside. Not only does the 'Gaze' organise the way things are seen, but also

organises what is deemed appropriate, and motivates people to change the appearance of the land to conform with their ideals (Abram 2003: 40). Invariably, those who change the appearance of the land, especially in a landscape such as Dartmoor, a National Park, have a centralised 'outsider' view of how it should look. Not only is there an assumption of what should be considered 'eyesores' (certain buildings, telephone lines, wind turbines, industrial & military), but also of how the landscape -the vegetation- should appear and it is these ideas of conservation that are at odds with local/indigenous understandings of place, "They want us basically to farm the land in the style that it was many years ago. The biggest problem with the National Park is that they always say that Dartmoor should be kept as it was, but never say as it was when! So how do we know, do we want it as it was in Prehistoric times, do we want timber, do we want it all overgrown?" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

One source, Matt (a photographer) recounted a story that demonstrates the division between an 'insiders' perception and that of an 'outsiders'- in this case a planner from the Park Authority. The planner had recently joined the Parks Planning Department and as an introduction to the area was being driven around the Moor. On reaching Jurston Hill, near Lettaford, Moretonhampstaed the planner caught sight of 'Sam Harris's scrap yard' and immediately asked what it was and said it had to be erased- "it's an absolute eyesore" (Matt, Photographer 2006). When he relayed this story to his neighbour, who had lived and grown up on Dartmoor, "a Devon Man, a Moorman, a Countryman" as Matt called him, he responded with the comment "I don't know what the bloody hell's the matter with them, it looks just like a showground" (Matt, Photographer 2006). Matt continued "that's the Countryman's view, to the Countryman he doesn't see it as an eyesore….to him it was a showground, but to the planner, the outsider, the park's mentality, it was an eyesore" (Matt, Photographer 2006). The impact of this story was not just limited to this local area of Dartmoor, as in 1985 an essay regarding the above scrap yard won second prize in the National Kenneth Allsop Memorial Essay Competition. The essay, written by Jan Beart-Albrecht picked up on what many others had failed to recognise, that the scrap yard played a valuable conservation role in Dartmoor society (Beeson & Greeves 1993: 146). She wrote "conservation had not been invented, it was simply a way of life" (Beeson & Greeves 1993: 146). The above anecdote is only one example of many concerning buildings from the recent past that have been demolished and with them the memories and attachments that were interwoven into their existence. An elderly inhabitant form Chagford remarked that

"there are hardly any of the old places left" and Beeson & Greeves (1993: 148) comment how this is not just nostalgia for the past but is an expression of an intuitive response that recognises how an alien culture is imposing change on a known and familiar place.

Increasingly, Dartmoor is being presented as an area for sustainable development and Biodiversity with special interest in renewable energy. Several farms have been given grants for small hydro-electrical turbines that run off existing water systems while other forms of renewable/alternative energy sources, most notably wind turbines have had planning applications refused as they are seen as eyesores. When such a question was put to a Park Authority employee on the role that wind turbines could have in sustainable energy and why such applications had been turned down, even when they were off the Moor, he replied that they were "detrimental to the view from the National Park, so people who enjoy the National Park because of its landscape designation would have their view impaired. "We all view it in a similar way because it's how we accept the landscape to be!" We as a society "expect it to look in a certain way" (Simon, Park Employee, 2006). Referring back to Abram's (2003) idea of the 'rural gaze' the examples given demonstrate how Dartmoor is graded into qualities of landscape beauty and indicates the extent of the organisation of the 'rural gaze' into classificatory principles (Abram 2003). Through the demolishing of buildings from the recent past and regarding features such as 'Sam Harris's scrap yard' as eyesores we are removing the human experience from the physical aesthetic (Abram 2003: 35).

"In an article I read the point was made how the National Park, well not just the National Parks but other bodies like English Nature forget about the people." (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

"That was certainly true of the National Park twenty-five years ago. There was no infrastructure within it that was actually thinking about people, all it was thinking about was landscape and the preservation of landscape. Actually missing the point that people shape and make and add culture to the landscape, and without those people the landscape's actually dead, it becomes a park, it becomes preserved. It's no longer a working, evolving landscape." (Matt, Photographer, 2006).

With imposed conservation schemes there is a sense amongst the farmers interviewed of a loss of control in managing the land, "now there was a time when the management of the herbage on Dartmoor was in the hands of the Commoners. The Commoners being the people whose cattle, sheep and ponies grazed upon it. Well now we're restricted to how many cattle, sheep and ponies we can put up there to do with this ESA" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006). The Environmentally Sensitive Areas Scheme (ESA) offers incentives to encourage farmers to adopt agricultural practices which would safeguard and enhance parts of the country that are seen to be of particularly high landscape, wildlife or historic value.

Natural England says that the benefits of the ESA are that it aims to maintain and often to enhance the conservation, landscape and historical value of the key environmental features of an area (www.naturalengland.org.uk/ourwork/farming 2010).

However, the notion of encouraging the adoption of agricultural practices that are said to enhance and conserve a landscape is often met with anxiety and scepticism "on the ground".

"Yes, there were parts of Dartmoor that were being overgrazed, I accept that, but there are now parts of Dartmoor that are being under-grazed. So you get a build up of vegetation you don't want on the moor. So my opinion is that it would be far better to be left to the management of the farmers themselves, but we are controlled by ESA regulations and without the regulations we wouldn't get any financial support." (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

Jeremy continued, "We always liked to think that our harvest was completed by Widecombe Fair. Widecombe Fair is always the second Tuesday of September. Then we would think about harvesting the ferns/bracken which would be done in the autumn. Next spring we would burn off all the rest of the ferns, as a result of that it kept all the ticks and stuff like that under control. Well now, because of the National Park activity and ESA activity you aren't supposed to burn the ferns, because they say if you burn the ferns then you're putting pot ash back into the ground which rejuvenates it. My argument is that that is not so. But you see I've got no qualifications! (Jeremy, Retired Farmer, 2006).

Imposing knowledge systems that have little or no relevance to indigenous ways of understanding not only takes away any form of control but also takes away any sense of identity. Their identity is formed not just by their community but through the knowledge they have as to how the Moor needs to be cared for. "You have a very strong feeling for Dartmoor, especially nowadays when other people and authorities are trying to interfere with us on Dartmoor. One feels very possessive and very worried for the future of Dartmoor, as they are doing it all wrong. All the local traditional people can see it going wrong, but can't do anything about it (Bill, farmer 2006). This sense of possession is no doubt formed by outside agencies instructing and directing present and future policies but also reflects how he, Bill, considers himself in 'Place' on Dartmoor. He says, "Granites in your blood" (Bill, farmer, 2006). Just as hunter-gatherer's have a detailed understanding, both ecologically and culturally of their environment, so do farmers. Through a direct engagement with the constituent elements of the environment Dartmoor is looked after. To care for an environment is like caring for people, it requires a deep, personal and affectionate involvement, an involvement not just of mind or body but of one's entire, undivided being (Ingold 2000: 69). "To be successful in the countryside you gotta live *with* the countryside, you don't try to domineer it. It's like a marriage, you live it together and make the best use of it" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

The issue of conservation and its implementation is one where control is taken away from those who know and understand how Dartmoor needs to be cared for. The imposition of a perceived understanding of how the Moor should be looked after by outside agencies is in opposition to the indigenous knowledge of the farmers:

"You don't think you're skilled at all until you talk to someone who's ignorant. You don't somehow accept you know these things until you talk to someone who doesn't know them. There are a lot of these what I call 'ologists', all different 'ologists' trying to tell us what to do, trying to organise and run Dartmoor and they're doing it all wrong and the place is falling to bits really isn't it. It's getting overgrown and the stock are gone, it's very sad that what was once a thriving farming community has just died" (Bill, farmer, 2006). An interview with another farmer highlighted the division between indigenous knowledge and that of the "ologist".

"The real practical knowledge of farmers, who are doing it from experience and information passed down through the generations, is being superseded, and I don't

mean this disparagingly, is being superseded by people who think they know best. They've done an environmental course at university, I have nothing against it, but they do very often consider they know all the theory of it but without the practical knowledge that my generation and generations before know." (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

The above paragraphs demonstrate the felt division that exists between the knowledge of the "ologists" and that of the knowledge passed on through experience, understanding and engagement with the Moor. I suggest that the practice and knowledge that the Dartmoor farmer brings to the Moor is in contrast to the 'scientific' conservation advocated by (western) wildlife protection agencies. This doctrine separates the world of nature from the world of humanity and makes it something subordinate. It is possible to draw certain analogies between Hunter-Gather groups and the situation in which Dartmoor Farmers find themselves. Within schemes of scientific conservation there is a degree of detachment which is incompatible with the kind of involvement that is essential to a hunter-gather and farming way of life. Therefore, following this vein of thought, instead of saying the Dartmoor farmer exploits their environment, it might be better to say that they aim to keep up a dialogue with it. The following example aims to demonstrate that the particular act of 'swayling' carried out by the Commoners on Dartmoor is a form of indigenous knowledge that is both contrary to scientific knowledge and an expression of Commoner identity. My aim is to demonstrate how swayling (the managing of vegetation through burning) is part of a material symbol/expression of sustaining 'indigenous' knowledge that is formed against or contrary to the knowledge of the 'outside' or "ologist". Following Ingold (2000), the act of swayling is considered as a 'task', or the practical operation, carried out by knowledgeable and skilled agents in an environment, as part of their normal business. Essentially, swayling as a 'task' is considered as a constitutive act of dwelling.

6.2.1 Swayling as 'taskscape'

Swayling is the process of burning areas of vegetation that are either of no use as grazing or in areas where the vegetation has become overgrown it promotes the growth of new shoots useful for grazing, for example grass. When done in a proper manner it is a rotational system where an area will be burnt one year and left to reproduce, and if necessary another different area will be burnt the following year. Each area, once burnt

is left to reproduce and grow for a number of years. As an act, swayling has a long historical context on Dartmoor and is not just important in keeping the vegetation under control but is part of the knowledge and engagement of the commoners handed down through generations. As a tradition, swayling on Dartmoor was never systematically defined or controlled but was part of a response to the commoners' observations on the state of the vegetation, "just as it happened to be" (Beeson & Greeves 1993: 150). Due to the status of Dartmoor as an ESA (Environmentally Sensitive Area) which regulates the conservation plans of Dartmoor, swayling is being taken out of the control of the farmer/commoner and becoming more and more controlled and restricted. If the farmer fails to comply with the regulations set out by the ESA then they do not get any financial support. As a result, in the summer of 2007 a number of areas (some large) were deliberately set on fire. After a conversation with a park employee, I came to understand that they -the Park- had a pretty shrewd idea who had instigated the swayling and that there had been warnings that something like this might happen. This may well be an example of an overzealous farmer/commoner taking the law into their own hands and writers mention how "the primitive Dartmoor villager again is possessed of the idea that the privilege of burning whatever he pleases is one of his jealously guarded 'rights', and burn he will" (Douglas 1931: 42). Swayling is part of the commoners' right, "Here on Dartmoor the commoners have got a right to swayl which is burning off areas of gorse and that each year". (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006). However, when Douglas (1931) comments that the role of swayling is simply the 'right' of the commoner and one that is "jealously guarded", it could be suggested that within contemporary Dartmoor for commoners' swayling is part of a shared historical tradition and part of the collective identity (commoner) that is used to create an 'ontological mooring' (Tilley 2006: 11) against the perceived notion of the commoner as an arsonist.

"The National Park was formed about fifty/sixty years ago and they more or less looked upon us commoners' as being 'arsonists' by going up and doing this burning. They call Dartmoor the last wild wilderness but it isn't, it's been managed by man for the last 8000 years. This gets passed down from generation to generation, you know the way to look after you're particular part of moorland/common. They now realise that it does need burning off in patches you see, but now they have a habit of producing a plan each year how much a commoner and common is allowed to burn and sometimes they get a little uptight" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

Jeremy continued to recount a story about a particular area called Trendlebeare Common, Bovey Tracey, where the area had been left to become overgrown since the end of the last war.

"It was allowed to run wild really. As the brambles and blackthorn and gorse took over less and less livestock came down from Haytor way to graze there. It got to the stage where it was no use for grazing at all. Now someone, who the authorities would declare as an 'arsonist' set fire to it about six year ago. The whole lot burnt and all the environmentalists said it was a national disaster." (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

To the commoner the act of swayling is not simply an activity through which they assert a particular right, but it is also the material expression of how they understand the Moor to be and how it should be managed. Importantly it illustrates how swayling has possibly become a symbolic return to the past, to handed down knowledge and a retreat from the uncertainties of the present (Tilley 2006: 14). As Dartmoor 'opens out' and increasingly becomes a conservation and heritage landscape the act of burning becomes the performances of expressing and re-constructing a group identity (commoner) to the outside authorities. Essentially, it is proposed that swayling should be seen as part of a new type of 'reflexivity' in which the once solid and established melts into the air (Berman 1982 from Tilley 2006: 10). Reflexivity involves a chronic revision of all social activities in terms of new information and knowledge which itself maybe risky or uncertain in the context of the mediated knowledge's produced by expert systems increasingly contested and lacking an authority which they once possessed (Tilley 2006: 11).

The aim of the section has been to provide the reader with an insight into a specific group's perspective -the Dartmoor farmer- towards the imaging of Dartmoor. A common thread that arose from the interviews with the farmers was their frustration at the loss of power and control over the management of the Dartmoor landscape. This was highlighted by the example of swayling, an issue that not only encompasses discourses of knowledge and ones validity over the other but also relates to the (re)conceptualisations of a Farmer/Commoner identity which uses the past to legitimise how they feel the landscape and in particular the vegetation of Dartmoor should be managed, and how in the process their knowledge is ignored.

This feeling of despair among the farmers who were interviewed was a common theme and it could be argued that in the present state of farming there is a feeling of anger and desperation towards outside agencies such as DEFRA and Natural England. Such anger and desperation no doubt rises from economic factors that are part of the Global Market. However, as Jeremy highlights "they always say that Dartmoor should be kept as it was, but never say as it was when". This may well be a time/landscape from when the Moor was designated a National Park or when Dartmoor first started to become an 'imaged' landscape in paintings, photography and literature. It may also point to what might be seen as confusion as to what the park authorities want themselves, or are told, as a majority of nature conservation policies are dominated by 'central' thinking without consideration of the specific local situation. This in turn creates confusion for the farmer in terms of identity, their job as stewards or farmers, and how conservation policies are carried out on the ground. Essentially we are dealing with discourses that 'image' the landscape and would seem to neglect the immediate physical and engaged landscape of the farmers which is made up of embodied experience.

6.3 People, Animals and Dartmoor

Animals are central to human life, and as such the human-animal relationship is one that has been the focus of a great deal of consideration and study in many disciplines. From the origins of domestication/animal husbandry, the socio-economic role that animals have, to the way in which hunter or pastoralists perceive animals -wild and domesticated- as part of their world, humanity has constructed many histories and narratives of their relations with animals. With specific reference to western notions of human-animal geographies, Ingold (2000: 61) writes how the story of human exploitation and eventual domestication of animals, is part of a more encompassing story of how humans have risen above and sought to bring under our control, a world of nature that includes our own animality. The aim of this section is to demonstrate how animals on Dartmoor -with specific reference to the Dartmoor Pony and indigenous Sheep- are material symbols of identity, conservation and images of Dartmoor that are integral in forming peoples' perception of the Moor and are part of the flow between both humans and animals that construct a sense of 'Place' and 'being-in-the-world' via the agency of animals. Using Owain Jones' (2003) article '*The Restraint of Beasts':*

Rurality, Animality, Actor Network Theory and Dwelling, it is intended to provide a brief overview of the 'presence' of animals in the construction of the rural and how the use of Actor Network Theory (ANT) and the 'Dwelling Perspective' (Ingold 2000) provide the possibility to conceptualise animals not simply as machines but as part of how the natural and social flow into one another.

Today, within the National Park Boundary 90% of land is used for farming. Much of this area is both open and enclosed moorland where livestock is grazed, and the remainder is made up of fringe enclosed farmland consisting of primarily improved grassland ('improved grassland' refers to areas that have been re-seeded and fertilised so the grass can be used for making hay and silage for animal feed. This is also referred to as 'inbye land'). As Jones (2003: 283) writes "Animals are central to how the rural is constructed in both imaginative and material terms", this is even more relevant when considering the 'rural' and agricultural landscape of Dartmoor compared to other 'rural', more lowland areas.

Across Dartmoor, sheep, cattle and ponies are all grazed and allowed to roam across the landscape. As such it is impossible to walk or drive across the Moor without encountering at least one kind of animal. This constant or immediate 'presence' of the animals fulfils a multiple set of images, perceptions and embodied experience of both nature, the rural and Dartmoor. To see animals roaming freely and unconstrained by fences and fields is in complete contrast to how the majority of people engage and experience animals -in this case domesticated livestock. In a society where domesticated livestock are seen as units of production and food there has been an increased distancing of society from animals. Garner (2001: 137) writing about the New Forest where animals are also allowed to roam relatively freely, comments, "finding a group of ponies in the shade of a large oak tree carries echoes of a rural past where animals were much more visible in society". For many, especially from urban areas and who may never or rarely experience such interaction, these encounters are thrilling in themselves and represent both a fulfilment of the images and a measurement of embodied significance (Garner 2001:137).

Figure 6.2. The writer as a child meeting a 'Dartmoor Pony', perhaps not looking too thrilled! (Photo taken by my mum).

Jones, O (2003) provides a good example to demonstrate how animals are used in setting the rural scene. 'Down to Earth' was a comedy drama, on BBC1 at prime time viewing, about a London family in search of the dream to move to the countryside and run a small holding. Located in Devon, the series follows the lives of the family as they encounter a world removed from urban London to the 'otherness' of the Devon countryside. Throughout the series, animals are key in defining the rural scene and forming the plot of the stories. For example, a cow that the family buy from the local market gives birth, in which the dad assists in its birth, and once born the camera pans over the calf and mother as the calf fumbles to search for its mother and milk. This expression of harmony and promise of a good life is, as Jones calls it "an animal magic moment" (Jones, O. 2003: 285). In another episode, the younger daughter who is bullied at school finds comfort and solace with the piglets with whom she reads and talks even falling asleep with them in the sty *-on immaculate and clean straw-* (Jones' emphasis, Jones, O. 2003: 285).

The examples given by Jones (2003) on the role/presence of animals as producing cultural understandings of the rural idyll are handed-down perceptions of what the rural areas is, defining them as areas offering opportunities for living and a lifestyle which are socially cohesive, happy and healthy, and present a quality of life that differs from

the city (Cloke 2003: 1). Concerning Dartmoor specifically, the visible presence in which visitors engage with and experience the livestock (sheep, cattle, and ponies) act as metonyms for the Moor as a whole. When asked the question "What do you associate with Dartmoor?" the reply would be ponies, sheep, animals with other aspects of the Moor. Such responses to the presence of animals is undoubtedly formed by representations and images of the animals in brochures, books and television, not to mention the use of the Dartmoor Pony as the icon for the Dartmoor National Park Authority (DNPA). Similarly, the animals become or take on metaphorical associations of what Dartmoor is perceived to be. The animals are able to roam freely over the Moor bringing with them a sense of freedom and unboundedness, access for all. Their semi-wild character can be seen as an expression of the wild wilderness and untamed nature of the Moor. Their perceived independence from man is highlighted by the very fact that those who own the animals are seldom seen by the visitors and indeed many would probably view the animals as not owned by anyone. Just as people who live in marginal areas are seen as strong and hardy the animal's ability to withstand extreme changes in climate and weather further adds to their presence as strong willed and survivors. They are also representations of the countryside in general as idyllic, natural, and existing in harmony free from pollution. One could also refer to the animals on Dartmoor as reflecting the other -perhaps more acceptable or 'Good'- side of farming and agriculture. In a time when society has become more and more removed from the production of food, and intensively reared animals have become the norm, associated with crises such as Salmonella or BSE, the images of sheep and cattle on Dartmoor free to roam and graze and essentially living a 'natural life' has become part of a re-conceptualisation and re-engagement with where and how our food is produced.

Philips *et al* (2001, from Jones, O. 2003: 286) point out that such images and representations of rurality are significant for three interrelated reasons. Firstly, the visual mediums of these images, especially television (as with Down to Earth) are the dominant areas of contemporary cultural production. Secondly, these cultural productions have significance in the material and social reconstitution of the rural and indeed non-rural areas. As Abram (2003: 31) notes, the experience of nature is organised socially into concepts such as 'meadow', 'rural', 'animal' and these in turn accepted collective understandings are interpreted visually and considered as the domain of ultimate evidence. Thirdly, these cultural productions are bound up with the formation of highly contestable images of the countryside. Whereas the dominant

images of Dartmoor -and the rural in general- depict animals as part of the living embodied experience, one of nature, beauty and well being, images and notions of death, poverty, loss of community and the important role that animals have in the fabric of the individual, family and community are seldom if ever represented or considered. The following section demonstrates the close connection between farmers and their livestock. Their livestock are not simply economic units, but are part and parcel of how people 'get on in life'.

6.3.1 Farmer – Animal Relations

Talking with Jeremy, a retired dairy farmer from Widecombe-On-The-Moor, and other farmers, it became clear the vital role that their livestock had in the construction of them as people, their identity, to their sense of Place and to their embodied engagement with Dartmoor, and particularly acute for Jeremy when remembering the FMD (Foot & Mouth Disease) outbreak. Although Dartmoor was not as badly affected as the northwest areas of Devon, there were outbreaks and the anger at how the government and associated agencies dealt with the outbreak still lingers and is as strong as ever:

"People will look back and say, my God what a devastating sow's ear of a job they made at controlling that, because they did!" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

"Were you affected by it? " (Peter Klemen, Interviewer).

"In a sense that I did lose some cattle, but the nearest outbreak to here was about three miles as the crow flies. The most, err, (long pause and sniffs), well it isn't a memorable thing, but the thing I remember most about it was the smell when they were burning. It smelt as is if my wife had had roast beef in the oven and all the
fat had burnt out all over the stove and everything. Oh it was the most pungent, strong smell". (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

Jeremy continued:
"The other thing of course is that your animals are part of your family! Now, I think if you make a comparison to the person who has a pet dog and the dog dies, oh my god what a terrible calamity because little Freddy has gone and died. But, you gotta

remember despite the fact that farmers trade their cows/cattle, sheep when they want to, at that time there was no want to, no option, they were shot and burnt" (Jeremy, retired farmer, 2006).

The forced loss of animals (livestock) that some of the Dartmoor farmers experienced is not simply the loss of an economic unit, but it is the loss of an embodied engagement with the animal(s), the past and a sense of place. As much as it is necessary to consider the role of animals in constructing humans' sense of 'being-in-the-world', in the case of diseases such as FMD the fragility and de-construction of 'Place' are brought to light. A story was recounted to me when I interviewed Matt, a photographer who lives and works on Dartmoor which is also in his book '*Silence at Ramscliffe: Foot and Mouth in Devon*' (2005). The story related to a farmer from the Chagford area of Dartmoor. The farmer had a meadow within the area of his farm that for him was "one of his favourite fields" (Chapman 2005: 22) and an area of strong attachment. It was a meadow/field where he had undertaken lambing and been photographed two years earlier (see figure 6.3), "always a positive time in the farming calendar" (Chapman 2005: 26). It was a place he would visit when ever times were difficult and he needed solace. As to why it was this specific meadow that created such a pull and attachment he could not answer.

With the outbreak of FMD the meadow/field was used to burn healthy cattle from his farm, and from that day he was never able to return to that meadow/field again (see figure 6.4). Although such a story may seem like a very simple and obvious anecdote of someone's personal connection and attachment to somewhere, what is demonstrated by such a story is the loss of an embodied engagement with the animals and the meadow/field (landscape).

"you have your own animals, and you've bred them though dozens of generations so you've developed your own type of cow that suits your farm, that suits your management style, you've got your sheep which you've developed, you can pick out your sheep from somebody else's. All that, the lot was gone, the whole gene bank of you family of animals was gone" (Jeremy, Retired Farmer, 2006).

Figure 6.3. Michael Mudge at Lambing time in “one of his favourite fields”, photographed in 1999 (Chapman 2005).

Figure 6.4. The same meadow/field with carcasses ready to burn. (Chapman 2005).

The loss of livestock is not simply the loss of a 'machine' or economic commodity but is the loss and severing of a sense of 'being' and 'dwelling'. Following the 'Dwelling perspective' (Ingold 2000) and applying it to the above examples it is helpful to view farming on Dartmoor as Dwelling, and the movement around the landscape caring for their livestock as incorporating an embodiment of tasks and life-histories and processes of 'Growth'. Through 'Growth', the work of the farmer or herdsman does not *make* crops or livestock, but rather serves to set up certain conditions of development within which plants and animals take on particular forms and behavioural dispositions (as highlighted by Jeremy) (Ingold 2000: 77). The animals have a vital role in creating and constructing the experienced and lived in world of humans. There is a sense in which people and their domestic animals grow older together, and in which their respective life-histories are intertwined as mutually constitutive strands of a single process (Ingold 2000: 86). For the farmer, Michael Mudge, who started his herd and processes of growth from just four cows thirty seven years ago, the culling and burning of 'healthy' cattle was both a loss of engagement and, for a time, of 'being-in-the-world'.

6.3.2 Animals as 'animals'

The previous pages and examples have dealt mainly with the presence of animals and how their agency is part of an image construction that conceptualises humans' engagement with/of the rural and Dartmoor. Attention will now turn to how animals, domesticated livestock in this case, have a cultural as well as productive value, and how with specific reference to the 'Dartmoor Pony' and the 'Whitefaced Dartmoor Sheep' rare breeds are part of the construction of heritage and identity in a countryside that is becoming increasingly 'post-productive'.

Within much of rural and agricultural geography the study of livestock has treated animals 'units of production' and little consideration has been give to them as 'animals' in their own right, having a cultural value to people living in the countryside (Yarwood & Evans 2000: 98). This is not to say that an economist's approach to the study of animal geographies should not be abandoned, as such approaches are helpful in explaining why certain breeds survive or how a breed is commercially useful (Yarwood & Evans 2000: 110). However, applying more culturally sensitive approaches to the geographies of animals, and in this case farm animals, there will hopefully be a greater

understanding of the role of farm animals in the construction of place (Yarwood & Evans 2000). What follows is a brief outline of agricultural and livestock changes to provide an understanding of the changing relationship between agricultural (humans) and livestock. Using examples from Dartmoor it will hopefully demonstrate how the 'Dartmoor Pony' and the 'Whitefaced Dartmoor Sheep' as rare breeds contribute to the identity and local distinctiveness of the moor, but are also bound up with peoples' notions of place and attachment.

The movement and migration of people and the historical geographies of animal breeds go hand in hand, and the types of animal breeds will often reflect the changing geographies of dominant societies (Yarwood & Evans 1998). For example, in the British Isles the respective locations of Kerry, West Highland and Welsh Black Cattle in the west of Ireland, Scotland and Wales can be explained by past cultures, which are closely related and have a common ancestor in Celtic livestock breeds and thus a Celtic identity. The present day survival of these livestock continues to reflect historic differences and to have as much an impact on the landscapes of the British Isles as do other features such as field boundaries and settlements (Yarwood & Evans 1995); therefore, strong associations can exist between breeds, place and culture (Yarwood & Evans 2000). From the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards the agricultural revolutions brought with them a quick and increased change in the previous relatively static animal geographies. The selective breeding of specific animals to increase weight, wool and milk yield, as well as speeding up maturity all to increase production and profit did much to both destroy and create associations between particular places and breeds (Yarwood & Evans 2000: 100). By the twentieth century and especially in the post-war 'productivist' era, capitalist farming became characterised by greater intensification, concentration and specialisation of livestock. Thus, with the emphasis placed firmly on efficiency and profit, new breeds of livestock were introduced to Britain which were better suited to capital-intensive farming systems as they would produce more food at lower costs (Evans & Yarwood 1995). British breeds were considered unprofitable and inefficient, and as a result they were no longer kept by farmers. Yarwood & Evans (2000: 101) write that from 1900-1973 over twenty-six breeds of farm animals became extinct in Britain alone, others have declined drastically in numbers as they were/are not suited to the technologically dependent conditions of production. Since 1973, no further breeds have become extinct and many have increased in number (www.rbst.org.uk 25/01/2008).

By the mid 1980s, the constant encouragement of productivist farming methods had created a political 'farm crises due to overproduction of foodstuffs, environmental damage and huge subsidy payments for agrarian support. As a result of these pressures, farmers found themselves in a new set of circumstances known generally as 'post-productivism' (Yarwood & Evans 2000). Essentially 'post-productivism', in agricultural terms, is the phrase that is used to describe agricultural activities that are not wholly related to profit and efficiency solely from livestock as a 'unit of production'. There are three characteristics within this shift of agrarian priorities away from food production which are 'pluriactivity', a desire for more environmentally friendly farming and consumer concern over food quality (Yarwood & Evans 2000: 101). As mentioned, rare breeds were seen to have no profitable purpose within the productivity era; however, they have been re-valued and play an important role within post-productivism.

'What a breed is', confirmation from the RBST (Rare Breeds Survival Trust).

A breed is defined as a group of animals that has been selected by humans to possess a set of inherited characteristics that distinguishes it from other animals within the same species. [To be recognised as a Rare Breed] For recognition by the trust, a breed must be an original breed, or a native breed of which at least parent one breed is believed to be extinct. Evidence of its continuousdocumented existence will take the form of written material. An original population is that segment of an original breed of which at least one parent is believed to be extinct, which has not suffered unacceptable introgression (www.rbst.org.uk 25/05/2010).

The three characteristics of post-productivism are as follows. Some farm families have become pluriactive via on-farm diversification into activities such as farm shops or farm-based tourism. Rare breeds, by the virtue of their scarcity and 'unusual' characteristics (large horns, long wool, and different colour) are an important factor in drawing tourists. This phenomena can be illustrated by the increased rise of 'farm parks' as images of a post-productive agricultural heritage that attract the paying public. Other forms of pluriactivity are evident where farm households have become 'part-time', where member(s) spend a proportion of their time engaged in income-earning activities off the farm (Evans & Ilbery 1993) as in the case of stalls at a farmers market. Rare breeds fulfil two niches; one is related to the fact that often traditional breeds can be

reared outdoors with little supervision in contrast to modern breeds and thus requires less capital and labour support. Also the rare breed becomes a way of branding and marketing the product and area (whether it be a region or individual farm) as different or unique and in turn all the associations that go with this: i.e. traditional, the past, superior. This leads onto the second characteristic, where although rare breeds cannot produce the same quantity of food as modern intensively selected breeds, many farmers consider the produce from rare breeds as superior and have engaged in the niche marketing of rare breed food/products to supply demand for 'quality' and what is seen as more 'ethical'. Thirdly, and again closely related to the above characteristic, is that rare breeds are seen to re-present a less intensive and 'natural' form/style of livestock husbandry and as such contribute to the wishes of society to create a more sustainable agriculture through agri-environmental schemes. Agri-environmental scheme is a phrase used to describe national (or local) schemes that pay farmers to farm in an environmentally sensitive way (Yarwood & Evans 2000).

The above post-productive priorities (as outlined by Yarwood & Evans 2000) are becoming more entrenched within changing agricultural practices and as a result more rare breeds are being kept by farmers. However, their survival depends on how farmers perceive them as useful in the productivity and profitability of the wider farming economy. This is still a relatively economistic approach, and again it must be stressed that such an approach is no less valid than an approach that considers the cultural link between livestock and place. The following example(s) regarding the 'Whitefaced Dartmoor Sheep' aim to demonstrate how profit and efficiency are far from the driving force that continue the husbandry of rare breeds but are part of the processes in which the cultural fabric and flow of social networks such as individual, group and landscape identity are maintained. What follows is a brief description of the farming 'set up' on Dartmoor.

Dartmoor is a marginal upland area, where profits are low and, sometimes, non-existent. The physical characteristics of the Moor, heavy rain, low temperature, exposure to winds and poor soil mean that production of animals per hectare is low. As a result, activities such as horticulture, arable farming and dairy farming are impossible or restricted to the fringes of the moor where lower altitude and soils are better suited. The growing season for grass is shorter on Dartmoor compared to the rest of Devon, and as such this means that there is less grass, silage and hay produced for the livestock to eat. As a result farmers often buy additional fodder from farms off the Moor or some

move their livestock to lower pastures. There are three main types of farmland on Dartmoor; Moorland, Newtakes and Inbye Land. *Moorland* areas of the National Park comprise heather and rough grassland. Covering approximately 50% (46 000 hectares), moorland forms the heart of the moor and as a result is exposed and very cold in the winter. For centuries this area has been used as an extensive grazing ground for cattle, sheep and ponies. The open moors are divided into separate areas called 'commons' where certain local farmers, as commoners, have rights to graze their animals. *Newtakes* are enclosed areas of moorland on the edge of common land. Each newtake is part of one farm and is not used for shared grazing. *Inbye land, also known as 'Improved'* relates to a patchwork of fields and woodland. A majority of these fields have been 'improved' by re-seeding and fertilising so that they can grow more grass for making hay or silage. Inbye land provides more food and shelter for livestock with some sheep and cattle kept on the farm within these fields during lambing and calving so that help is at hand if needed. The types of farms that exist on Dartmoor are: *High Moorland farms* (mainly owned by the Duchy of Cornwall) which have newtakes and poor inbye fields, as well as common rights attached to each farm. *Mid Moor Farms* have common rights but no newtakes and have slightly more productive inbye land. Finally, *farms on the fringes of the National Park* are the last type of farm. These farms often have no common rights or newtakes, but their inbye land is much more productive as having better soils and being at a lower altitude. The farmers that were interviewed lived on Mid and High moorland farms.

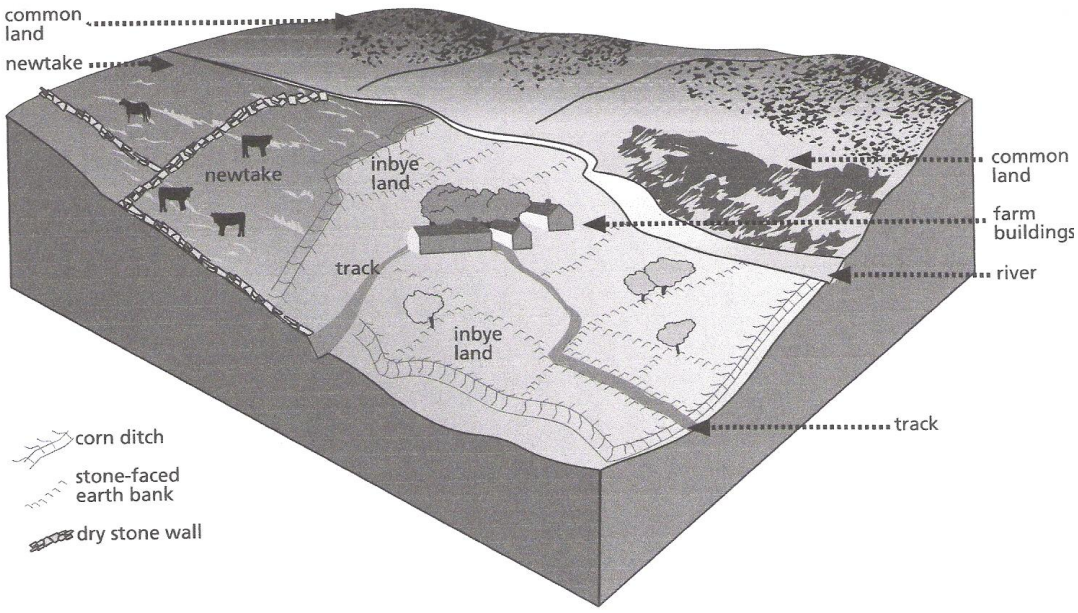


Figure 6.5. Layout of a High Dartmoor Farm (Dartmoor National Park Authority, Farming on Dartmoor Factsheet www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk 30/12/2010).

Due to the physical conditions in which the Mid and High moorland farms are located even the inbye land that is retained and improved is still considerably poorer than inbye land located on the lower lying areas at the fringe of the Moor and in lowland areas. Therefore, much of the land is outbye or poor quality inbye land. Due to the characteristics of outbye land that diminish its potential as a natural resource for capitalist production of commodities, enhances its potential for the cultural production of meaning (Gray 2003: 229), for the cultural identity of both humans and animals. As mentioned, outbye is marginal, compared with inbye land where there has been a greater degree of human intervention and the livestock are subject to a higher level of surveillance, control and better grazing, and appear on the fat market as finished commodities ready for immediate slaughter and sale as an agricultural commodity (Gray 2003: 229). On outbye land, husbandry of livestock and time taken to mature and ready the livestock for sale takes longer and so receives additional headage payments. Gray (2003) writes that the additional head payments and the nature in which the livestock are raised, distances the hill (outbye) livestock to a greater degree than the lowland (inbye) livestock from economic forces of the agricultural market. As a result of such distancing (following Relph 1981, Tilley 1994), outbye land as well as the livestock living on it are less domesticated through technological intervention.

Therefore, their significance to upland farming people is not confined to meanings derived from rational use and efficiency in terms of producing commodities for the capitalist market (Gray 2003: 230). Upland livestock are less commodities than they are symbols of hill/upland people and their way of life (Gary 2003: 230). Although Gray (2003) is writing specifically about Hill Sheep Farming and Place-making in the Scottish Borders, it is the point of animals/livestock as symbols of hill/upland farmer's way of life that I would like to highlight with the following example.

6.3.3 Animals and 'Place-making' on Dartmoor

With the following two examples I hope to demonstrate how both the Dartmoor Pony and Whitefaced Sheep, two breeds indigenous to the Moor are vital in forming a sense of place to Dartmoor, but in two very different ways. Through a brief explanation of the context in which the Dartmoor Pony has inhabited the Moor I suggest that its length of time on Dartmoor and its use as the park's emblem are vital in constructing and sustaining the identity and unique placeness and how people who visit the Moor embody these issues. Following this there is a detailed explanation of how the Whitefaced Dartmoor Sheep was and is vital in forming and sustaining place and identity for the farming communities who live and work on Dartmoor. Both are implicit in forming a sense of place, but in different and contrasting ways.

Along with the tors, the Dartmoor Pony is probably the most recognised and represented feature of Dartmoor. As mentioned, its use as the park's emblem demonstrates its cultural significance for and identity with Dartmoor. "One of the oldest inhabitants of Dartmoor" (www.dartmoorhillpony.com 2010) is how 'The Dartmoor Hill Pony Association' refer to its presence on the Moor. This is very apt as excavations from Shaugh Moor in the 1970s unearthed and recorded hoof prints dated to the Bronze Age. The recording of hoof prints provides a depth of time that imbues the Dartmoor Pony with a powerful sense of place and being as part of Dartmoor. Used as pack horses to transport goods in the medieval period, to pull trams at the granite quarries in the nineteenth century and used in the twentieth century for farming, the Dartmoor pony has had close relationships with humans and the Moor. In the 1950s there were up to 30,000 ponies in the Moor, presently there are fewer than 1,500 (www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk 2010). The Dartmoor pony is now a rare breed and as a result there are now a number of breeding programmes to sustain its existence. Being an integral part of the

landscape and one of the reasons why people come to visit Dartmoor, their survival is not just one of the survival of a rare breed, but also the survival of the cultural fabric of the Moor through their economic value as visitor attractions. Although sheep, cattle and ponies all roam the Moor, the ponies undoubtedly form the most prominent representation in photos/postcards and stick in peoples' minds. While the wealth of Dartmoor came from sheep, these are rarely mentioned by visitors. Out of the forty structured interviews only three people mentioned the sheep compared to twenty responses mentioning the ponies. Ponies are more sociable than sheep, regularly coming up to people in their cars, joining in picnics, or frightening them! (see figure 6.2). Sheep will run away! I would further suggest that their sociability is not simply the reason why they shape peoples' sense of Dartmoor. They are rarely seen as economic units, although they are frequently bought and sold, but are seen to embrace the sense of freedom and romantic isolation associated which Dartmoor. Indeed, the online exhibition on the Park's website 'Spirit of the Pony', demonstrates the rich cultural heritage of the Dartmoor Pony and how through art and sculpture they have been and continue to be represented. The importance of the indigenous Whitefaced Sheep has no such website exclaiming the 'Spirit of the Sheep'. They are of course represented in fact sheets, but these facts cover their suitability to the landscape and quality of wool- they are seen and perceived as economic units. The semi-wild nature of the pony, able to run free over the Moor is representative of how people 'feel' and is in contrast to their everyday lives. Ponies are implicit in helping the ecology of Moor. In a recent newsletter from the Park Authority a herd of 'native' ponies has helped in saving a rare species of bog hoverfly and the ponies are written up as an excellent habitat management tool as they nibble the bigger tussocks of grasses/rush and their small hooves result in little damage to the ground. Sheep and cattle on the other hand, although good at keeping herbage down are seen to have caused over grazing and considerable erosion in a number of areas. It is not my intention to play one off against the other, as one better than the other, for as I demonstrate below the Whitefaced Sheep are vital in shaping how communities formed their own individual identities and crucial in fostering the fertility of the Moor. "You're always renewing the fertility, that's why sheep were such a big thing. They would grow their turnips and swede, then turn and fold 'em in (the soil), fence them in and get the fertility from the sheep to grow their corn the following year" (Richard, farmer, 2006). My aim is to highlight how the Dartmoor Pony represents the feeling and sense of freedom, of ecological sustainability

and are fundamental in forming the identity and sense of place to those outside the Moor and those who visit. The following is a detailed account of the Whitefaced Sheep and how they are part of an 'insiders' or farmers' sense of place.

Historically the wealth of Dartmoor came from wool, and the moor was a major supplier of the raw material to the rest of Devon and even exported it out of the country. Many of the large monasteries at Buckfast, Buckland and Tavistock were important owners of large flocks of sheep and it is known that by the fourteenth century the Cistercian abbey at Buckfast was listed in a document of suppliers to the Florentine wool traders. In the sixteenth century it is estimated that every summer near to 100, 0000 sheep were pastured on the moor, by the seventeenth century this rose to 110-112, 000. From the late eighteenth into the early part of the nineteenth centuries the numbers declined to around approximately 50-60, 000, a result that many have attributed to the enclosing of common land for improvement. By the 1940s the economic market for wool was starting to decrease quickly. Ministry of Agriculture figures state that in 1939 there were 108, 000 sheep in all of the Dartmoor Parishes. This figure dropped to 98, 000 by 1949 of which around 30, 117 were on the moor itself. Numbers from the DEFRA census show that from 1972 to 2002 the numbers of sheep rose from just 52, 000 to 200, 000. This huge increase is linked to the Common Agricultural Policies Sheep Regime (this policy means that farmers who raise Hill Sheep are given additional head payments on their livestock as they are less marketable (Gray 2003). Today there are an estimated 145, 000 sheep grazing rights on the Dartmoor Commons which would be a reflection of the early figures (www.legendarydartmoor.co.uk 16/08/2010). Across Dartmoor there are primarily three kinds of Sheep: the *Scotch Blackface Sheep* introduced in the latter part of the nineteenth century and two 'native' breeds called the *Greyface Dartmoor* and *Whiteface Dartmoor*. Both are descendants of the native heath sheep that grazed Dartmoor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Greyface Dartmoor is also referred to as the 'Improved Dartmoor' as in the nineteenth century they were crossbred with Nottinghamshire and Leicester Longwools. The Whiteface Dartmoor breed is thought to be one of the oldest breeds in England and a descendant of the *Soay Sheep* associated with Iron Age populations. Once found over large areas of West Somerset and Devon, the increased enclosure of land meant the breed was driven back to Dartmoor "where it became firmly rooted, and continues to flourish as one of Devon's premier native breeds" (www.whitefacesheepdartmoorsheep.org.uk 25/05/2010). As a rare breed the RBST (Rare Breed Survival Trust) have categorised it

as ‘level 3’ or ‘At risk’ on their watchlist, and as a result a number of Dartmoor farmers have undertaken breeding schemes to continue the survival of the breed and organisations such as the ‘*The Whiteface Dartmoor Sheep Association*’ continue to champion this rare breed. One such farmer is Richard, who breeds the Whiteface Dartmoor and wrote a book titled *The Whiteface Drift of Dartmoor’s* “*Prapper Sheep*”. Interestingly the title of the book is a reference to how the flocks of sheep when in the fields or being moved, were all together in a group and seen to resemble a snow drift. This gives some idea of the number of Whiteface sheep that would once have been present on Dartmoor. The attachment that Richard has towards the breed and his own flock demonstrates how economy and profit have little to do with sustaining the life of this breed.

“When you talk about Dartmoor and you talk about what is a sense of place, well the sense of place comes from the animals.” (Richard, farmer 2006)

Richard picked up his book *The White-faced Drift of Dartmoor’s “Prapper Sheep”* and opened it to a page with a photo of a few whitefaced sheep and continued:

“Now that’s the page, it’s probably the most significant page of all because it just says ‘in their place’. Now, we’re not the only users of the moor, we’re not the only inheritors of the moor you know! And this is what some people should stand back and see some time, there are other things happening that have always happened for so long. If you imagined you were breeding a whitefaced sheep in 1850 and as a family you were determined enough to keep that breed up until the year 2000, it does take a certain amount of luck, but also takes a huge amount of commitment” (Richard, farmer, 2006).

“What inspired you to write the book?” (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

“Well, there were a number of reasons why it came about. The Whitefaced Dartmoor Association celebrated its fiftieth anniversary so that was a trigger, and then my love of sheep because that was there. My grandfather on my mother’s side, who I never saw, sent wool to California in 1939 to the *Wool Exportation Show* for England, got a first for England. There is a gene there for sure, definitely with the animals, it has to be like that because I’m pulled around all the time, I look over a gate and see something get up

the wrong way and I think there's something wrong with it, and there is! The gene is strong, and the sheep side is strong and my love of wool. Many families had the same Whiteface Sheep on the same farm with the same family name for 150 years" (Richard, famer, 2006).

The above demonstrates how the Whiteface Dartmoor has been involved and continues to be involved via its agency into 'relational-networks' of place-making, reflection, connection to the past and connection to areas off the moor even out of the country. By applying and considering ANT (Actor-Network Theory) within these relational networks and using Law's (1999: 4) outline that ANT may be seen as a 'semiotics of materiality', one that takes the insight of semiotics and relationality of entities and applies this to all materials, not simply to those that are linguistics, then we begin to gain an insight into the relational materiality (Law 1999: 4) of the networks that bring humans and non-humans (the Whiteface Sheep) together. ANT approaches offer a powerful re-examination of the nature and locus of agency and the way the world is ordered as it continuously unfolds (Jones 2003: 292). The ongoing connection/forming of networks of the actants are held together via translation or the 'relational materiality' and 'performativity' of this process (Jones, O. 2003: 292). Performativity is related to the way that entities achieve their form as a consequence of the relations in which they are located, and this tells us that they are performed in, by and through those relations (Law 1999: 4). Thus, in terms of the rural, cows that produce milk and meat, sheep that produce wool and meat or hens that produce eggs are in 'relation' with humans, technology, information and science, productive actants who contribute vital 'affordances' to achievements of one kind or another emanating from networks (Jones, O. 2003: 292). The above are important conceptualisations that begin to put animals more visibly and precisely in relational networks giving them a degree of agency. However, this is still a relatively passive agency and one that considers them more as objects not subjects. Ingold (2000), notes that animals have forms of intentionality, agency and otherness which generate different effects in relation to ongoing enrolment into networks. Several writers are starting to rethink human nature; this means not only dethroning humans, but also liberating other animals from their passive and mechanistic portrayal by Western rationalism (Jones, O. 2003: 295). As Richard says "we're not the only inheritors of the moor". Animals are complex evolved

entities ‘saturated with being’, with patterns of instinctive behaviour which have to be dealt with when they are being enrolled into networks (Jones, O. 2003: 295).

“Up on the moors, up here, I used to run a lot of sheep at one time. I used to go up in the evenings, because at evening times sheep have a tendency to come back to what we call a *lear*. A lear is an area of ground which your ponies, sheep or cattle stay too. Basically, here in this area, particularly here in Widecombe parish for instance there are six or seven of the old medieval manor systems that still work. The commons are divided up into manors, but they’re not physically divided up, but there is a borderline between one stone and that stone. So, in theory your sheep shouldn’t go across that border, now there’s always been an understanding that your sheep can stray into the next manor but, they must not stray through that manor into the next one, then that becomes trespassing! So what you do is you bring them back and you try to keep them to your own lear. Up the top here we’ve got Lyn Tor and that was the basis of our lear and we used to bring the sheep back (to here). So if you wanted to go see them in an evening, they were generally back around the tor, they would come back and then spread out the next morning. And this is sort of the way things went” (Jerermy, retired farmer, 2006).

Jeremy’s description of the movement of sheep illustrates how people and animals are enrolled into networks of building or constructing knowledge and engagement with the landscape and the way in which the landscape is learnt and divided -and importantly not physically divided, as this enables a freedom not just of movement but of active agency on behalf of the sheep- and how certain rules, such as what constitutes “trespassing”, are formed. Thus, sheep are active beings in peoples’ understanding and engagement of the landscape, whether it is local to the parish or Dartmoor as a whole. Such understanding and engagement is not just part of a farmers way of life, but was further expressed when interviewing a felt maker from Chagford.

“I really do feel a sort of connection to the history of the landscape and that ties in very much with what I do which is working with wool. That’s where I differ from a lot of other people who work with wool, i.e. felt makers. Most people are very happy just to buy wool off the internet which is non-descript Moreno (moreen) wool from the other side of the world with a huge amount of transportation involved. My work is solely dedicated to using wool from this landscape.” (Julie, felt maker, 2006).

“I was wondering when you said you use it from indigenous sheep or flocks and that interested me if that was something deliberate and specific.” (Peter Klemen. Interviewer, 2006).

“It’s all tied up to my feelings about the environment, you know how it’s in our hands and we’ve got to use it sensibly. It’s tied into the deep historical thing, as well as a connection to the land and looking out for the future of the land and its people. People and their flocks of sheep have moulded the landscape around here, there’s no doubt about that, they’ve had a huge influence on how it looks.” (Julie, felt maker, 2006).

Jones, O (2003: 295) points out that natural artefacts (animals) are enrolled in part by working within their (pre)existing tendencies, thus their habits and tendencies shape the technologies and practices which in turn shape and control them. For Richard, his movement around his farm and fields, looking over a gate and to “see something get up the wrong way” is an instinctive knowledge where he knows something is wrong, and the two are enrolled in an embodied understanding, nurturing and caring. Dwelling is central to this engagement and attachment. Writing the book and the research that went in to the book is again an enrolment of the Whiteface Dartmoor and the Dartmoor farmer -and Richard, as an individual- into relational networks that bring up associations of a lost past. In writing the book this is part of a (re)connection with a grandfather that he never knew and the Whiteface Dartmoor brings them together. It is also a bringing together of other farmers to learn information from them about the Whiteface Dartmoor.

“I had to go and quiz these people, like you’re quizzing me. Imagine the depth of that and then putting the photos in, getting the stories out” (Richard, farmer, 2006).

“What did you find out?” (Peter Klemen, Interviewer).

“They had a passion for it, an absolute passion that’s what they had for it. That passion was driven by ancestry, because their parents did it and their grandparents did it, and they love the instinct of the animal. So, not wanting to change being satisfied with what they have. But then having to farm it in blizzards, in weather, in all sorts of problems. Then the total cycle of work; the lambing, the shearing, the dipping, the whole sequence

of work throughout the year is immense to keep an animal on its feet" (Richard, farmer 2006).

The book itself is a (re)engagement with a way of life and a shared identity and understanding of 'being-in-the-world'. The placeness in which the 'Whitefaced Sheep' construct demonstrates how profit and efficiency are far from the driving force that continue the husbandry of rare breeds but, are part of the processes in which the cultural fabric and flow of social networks such as individual, group and landscape identity are maintained. Within much of the rural and agricultural geography the study of livestock has treated them as 'units of production' and little consideration has focused on animals as 'animals' in their own right and as having cultural value to people living in the countryside (Yarwood & Evans 2000:98).

6.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate the many ways in which Dartmoor is represented and how the identity of the Moor is expressed through the individual properties of topography, animals and knowledge of how the Moor needs to be run. Throughout there has been a focus on the agency and materiality of landscape, knowledge and animals, and on how identity and place are formed and sustained. The first part aimed to demonstrate how various textual representations focus on the standard topographic elements of tor, stream/river and bog/mire, and how through their descriptions you get a fuller understanding of the essence of the Moor. However, to gain a true understanding and feel for the landscape and its subtleties one has to be immersed within it. One must truly experience the Moor by forming a social framework with it where the body is able to fully embody the materiality of the landscapes physical qualities. This was demonstrated by Samuel Rowe's 1848 *A Perambulation of the Ancient and Royal Forest of Dartmoor* where the body is led and participates with the Moor and its topography.

The second part of the chapter focused on an 'insiders' feelings towards the landscape and the implementation of conservation policies. The notion of rurality and the rural gaze (Abrams 2003, Cloke 2003, Jones, O. 2003) is concerned with the notion/concept of the 'ideal & idyllic' which has an overall concern with the image/imagined way of seeing and experiencing the countryside where the visual is the

overarching sense that informs conservation policy and ignores indigenous forms of knowledge and landscape aesthetic. This was the primary reason for focusing on the aspects of swayling and animals. Through interviews with the farmers and attending a debate titled 'Designer Wilderness? What Future for Dartmoor's Vegetation?' I became aware of the important role that animals had in the conservation of Dartmoor through managing the vegetation. Swayling also arose as an issue whilst talking with a park employee, at the debate and through interviews with farmers. As a result I wanted to focus on a particular group of people who were actively involved with the landscape, who lived and worked with it and were affected by conservation policies. The fundamental aspect to take from the second section is that the landscape of Dartmoor is embodied and inhabited through other lived beings and not just the geology and topography. The social and historical frameworks which arise through close attachments are part of a process of reciprocation where other sentient beings (animals) are themselves centres or modes of habitation.

Future research "Dartmoor is an open space and should be open for everybody!" (Ian Dartmoor Rambler).

There are many aspects of Dartmoor which could have been explored and these would form the basis for further research. For example the issue of 'access' in general is an aspect that arose through interviews and provided polarized positions between those interviewed. Two of the most contentious issues were the military and access to tors that had been closed off to the public. For some the military were seen as contrary to the status of Dartmoor as a National Park and were damaging the landscape and archaeology. There has even been direct action taken by a group called MVADA (Military Veterans Against Dartmoor Abuse) who have trespassed into the closed off areas during live firing by the military (see Appendix D). Others felt that the military were part of the fabric and character of the Moor and were in fact helping to conserve areas by limiting the amount of access. Preventing access to the tors was another was another major issue and one that was highlighted by the Vixen Tor dispute (see Appendix D). Tors are such a fundamental feature of the Dartmoor landscape and are part of peoples' experiences, memories and image -people are very attached to them. Further research on the issue of access would focus on the role that areas like Dartmoor provide. In a society where increasingly where people live in town and cities, open areas

(National Parks) provide the ability to fully open one-self out, from the restrictions of an urban life.

Part V: Journeys Conclusion: Past and Contemporary Relations with the Landscape of Dartmoor

Chapter 7

7.1 Journeys conclusion: Past and Contemporary Relations with the Landscape of Dartmoor

Dartmoor is many things to many people; a place to visit and sit while taking in the views, enjoying the 'Special Qualities' (www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk 2010), a home, a place of recreation, a place for artistic inspiration, a place of contemplation or a place of work. Not an exhaustive list or one with any great surprising or profound insights. However, such a list which contains ordinary everyday experience is of interest due to the very fact that as a landscape, as material culture, Dartmoor (as do multiple landscapes) acts on people almost subconsciously. Personally I have had long family connections with the south-west peninsula and Dartmoor. Through my Grandfather, who as an agricultural economist would visit many of the farming communities across the Moor, to my mother whom when growing up in Newton Abbot Dartmoor was a place much visited and crossed by bus to reach towns such as Tavistock to play hockey when a school girl. Naturally, Dartmoor became a place where I was taken to and stayed with relatives, walking, picnicking and paddling in the many streams. These many experiences and memories meant Dartmoor was already a place in which my body 'gathered in', became attuned (Casey 2000) and provided the social and historical ties through which to consider a study into the Moor's materiality and how these become embodied (Tilley 2007). Academic interests also influenced the decision to choose Dartmoor as a place to investigate how the Moor affects others. Within archaeological literature there has been little discussion on the way later prehistoric communities 'lived in' or dwelt in the Dartmoor landscape and the role that topographic features had in this. I was also interested in how contemporary experiences and involvements with the Moor were informed, and how social relationships were created and sustained between people and Dartmoor. When I refer to 'the Moor' in this context I include its many aspects from geology, topography, weather/seasons, archaeology and animals. Applying a phenomenological perspective, one where focus is specifically on the physicality and material existence of the human body in the world (Tilley 2004a: 2), it was hoped that both past and present experiential engagements could be studied.

The very location, in the centre of Devon is not only a constant feature in the psyche of people, but it also physically and naturally prescribes movement over and through this part of the country along the two primary routes, A30 and the A38. This

geographical location has a kind of effective 'habitus' on peoples' everyday movement, one that is unquestioned and "as it is". Whether you realise it or not Dartmoor by simply being there, where it is, has an affect on you and acts on people almost subconsciously. It is this affective influence that forms the basis and focus for the study. By applying a phenomenological perspective, one aimed specifically on the physicality and material existence of the human body in the world (Tilley 2004a: 2), it was hoped that both past and present experiential engagements could be studied. Both the archaeological and anthropological aspects of the study have focused on the agency and materiality of the Moor and how these issues become tangible, experienced and embodied. Linking both aspects was the profound physical encounter of the body with Dartmoor and how the many constituent elements of the landscape were used and continue to form peoples' sense of 'Being'. Through interviews and studying the archaeological features it became apparent that there is a continuity in the use of the landscape and its features in embodying particular experiences, and the importance of the body and landscape within this embodiment and structuring of perception. Focusing specifically on the body, and importantly a moving body, within a specific landscape context, provided the ability to study past and contemporary engagements. The body is fundamental in understanding not just the physical material properties of Dartmoor or any other landscape, but also how those material properties take on and 'gather in' personalities of their own and become affective agents. Therefore, materiality and the social and temporal context in which agency is produced were also important issues within the study.

7.1.1 Agency and Materiality

Ingold (2007c) writes that materiality is an illusion and cannot be touched (Ingold 2007c: 7) and similarly refers to agency as "Magical mind dust" (Ingold 2007c: 11). His argument is that agency calls for skill and skill arises through development, to attribute agency to objects (things) that do not grow or develop and that consequently embody no skill and whose movement is not therefore coupled to their perception is ludicrous (Ingold 2008: 215). To apply an all encompassing concept of agency is perhaps problematic and it is necessary to consider agency in a specific context (Dobres & Robb 2000, Dobres & Robb 2005). I agree with Ingold (2008) that action is to a varying degree 'skilled' and that this skill is continually attuned, one that is not readymade, but is developed and learnt -this development is part and parcel of the organism's growth

and development in its environment (Ingold 2008: 215). Essentially the subject (organism) is one with a nervous system. Such a point has been suggested by Law & Moll (2008) who comment how Cumbrian Sheep learn their landscape and how to move over and through it. Animals are active beings in peoples' understanding and engagement of the landscape. By understanding the social relationships and landscape context the concept of materiality becomes not an illusion or untouchable, but physical and practical. I would further suggest that such materiality and agency does not have to come from a 'thing' with a nervous system. To consider landscape, although it does not have a nervous system, it is not inert and is active through the organisms that grow on and in it. Furthermore, stories and engagements become intertwined, it becomes and has locales of significance and is 'placial' (Casey 2001, Tilley 2008, 2009). The Moor affords the place for this to happen and affects those who are involved with it.

As topographic features the tors are a very good example of continuity between Bronze Age and contemporary perceptions of the Moor, the self and the embodiment of experiences. They are also active agents in issues of access, tourism and the aestheticization of Dartmoor. Through surveying the archaeological features it was noted that within both study areas there is a significant relationship between a particular tor and clitter. Many of the pound enclosures incorporate or are sited close to the naturally exposed areas of stone, with the Butter Brook single row entering and exiting the clitter on the floor of the Butter Brook Valley. The stone is a fundamental element not simply in the construction of the enclosures and row, but is a form of 'Identity work' (Edmonds 2006: 177) where the physical engagement of the monument and the body with and through the stone is a process where one learns and gains knowledge of surroundings and self. The learning and gaining knowledge of one's surroundings and the importance of the natural features and landscape within this knowledge construction was highlighted by Jeremy. He explained how the movement of his sheep within the 'lear' was one in which you as a farmer learnt your landscape, how the animals would move and where they would be according to what time of day. The sheep are active agents in how the community structures experience in the 'lived in' world and within this the natural features are fundamental in defining how the Moor is perceived along lines of ownership and laws of trespass. "The commons are divided up into manors, but they're not physically divided up, but here is a borderline between one stone and that stone. So in theory your sheep can stray into the next manor but, they must not stray through that manor into the next one, then that becomes trespassing" (Jeremy, Retired

Farmer, 2006). In both examples the topography and its individual elements become the way in which the individual comes to learn the landscape and their inhabitation within it through the incorporation of it into the 'everyday'.

Across both study areas specific rock outcrops have been elaborated and transformed. On Ugborough Beacon the tor cairn has been constructed to incorporate a substantial area of exposed stone, and in the Middle Plym a propped stone on Lower Hartor Tor emphasises the particular significance in which the tor was perceived. Similarly, a cairn has been constructed close to Sharp Tor and on the highest elevations across both areas cairns are located and command extensive views of the surrounding landscape -for example Three Barrows. These areas become signified with different placial associations, they become memorialised and distinct. The physical elaboration of the tors and high hills is analogous to the walk that Ian and his mother, and later his brother took up Sheepstor. Although not physically inscribed with a cairn, for Ian and his brother Sheepstor becomes a place of re-collection and remembering. It becomes attuned and specific much like the location of the cairns in high places and the elaboration of specific tors/rock outcrops. Also, the efforts involved in the construction of the cairns or lifting the propped stone into position can be compared with the effort Ian's mother put into ascending Sheepstor. His mother didn't just want to visit and 'see' the area she wanted to put her body back into Dartmoor.

7.1.2 From Taskscape to a National Park

National Parks are often promoted as "Britain's breathing spaces" (www.nationalparks.gov.uk 2011) bringing health benefits to their visitors. Tourism and leisure have become the main source of income and revenue for many who live and work in areas designated as National Parks. Within the National Park the visual and audible become aestheticized and with it a set of expectations for the majority people. For Dartmoor topographical features are composed in a set way that demonstrates the solitude and quietness of the Moor. Textual accounts employ particularly emotive descriptions for the mind to paint a mental picture, or as Trezise (2000) terms 'picture writing'. The landscape of Dartmoor is one that has been shaped by various industrial activities and is replete with past 'tasks'. Quarrying, stone cutting, china clay extraction and farming have all contributed to the Moor of today. Referring to the Lake District, but equally applicable to Dartmoor, Edmonds notes (2006) there is a sense of irony in

these areas which are so prized for their solitude and quietness yet owe so much to industries that would have been heard for many miles.

For those whose Dartmoor is still a 'taskscape', notably farmers, the aesthetic expectations that come with a touristscape and leisurescape are part of a process where their identity and knowledge are felt to be undermined, creating mistrust amongst some towards outside agencies and a confusion as to how the Moor is perceived. "They want us to farm the land in the style that it was many years ago. The biggest problem with the National Park is that they always say that Dartmoor should be kept as it was, but never say as it was when" (Jeremy 2006, retired farmer). Just as the Bronze Age landscape would have been perceived and experienced as areas layered with embodied memories via the body's involvement and movement through the landscape, in which various activities and tasks would have been carried out and shared -as illustrated by the large amount of flint debris recorded by Worth (1953) around Calveslake Tor and cairn- for the farmers the task of swayling, and in some cases illegal swayling, is part of a shared historical tradition and part of the collective identity (commoner) that is used to create an 'ontological mooring' (Tilley 2006: 11), one in which the perception of outside agencies towards the commoner as an arsonist is reversed and protested against.

7.1.3 Body, Walking and Materiality

Through the investigation of the various constituent elements it became clear that not only was the body central in how people came to experience, dwell, familiarise, memorialise and embody the agency of the Moor, but it was via locomotion and specifically walking the landscape that the body and Moor become intertwined. The act of walking is part of a sensual engagement with the Moor's presence, it is part of the process of place-making where knowledge of the self and landscape is gained and grows via lived experience (Gray 2003). It is a profoundly social activity involving other people and the landscape in which you are walking and the body responds to the changing rhythms and temporality of the inhabited and lived in world (Ingold & Lee Vergunst 2008). In particular the 'Phenomenological Walk' involves gathering together the synaesthetic, material and sensory experiences as they unfold in the sequence of the duration of the walk (Tilley 2008a: 270). Dartmoor and walking are 'Place Memory' and 'Body Memory' (Casey 2000) respectively. It is the way that I suggest the Bronze Age monuments were experienced and formed the way people dwelled 'in' and 'on'

Dartmoor. Through walking you are assimilating synaesthetic and kinaesthetic experiences, as you go along you give yourself to places and they give back (Solnit 2001: 13). Together the rows, cairns and enclosures/settlements are places or locales that are part of a particular mode of being, one of 'wayfaring' (Ingold 2007a, 2010). The rows and cairns reference movement and fluidity where knowledge is constantly learnt and grows while the enclosures/settlements are places that may appear as destinations in the sense that Ingold applies to the modality of 'transport' where peoples' character remains unaltered through their movement.

Within a contemporary context walking can be seen more as a leisure pursuit. However, those interviewed who walk Dartmoor are involved in a close relationship where the Moor gives them multiple experiences and is a repository of memories. This is highlighted by Matt's friend and colleague's walk across the Moor and Ian's last walk with his mother, then re-constructing that memory by taking his brother to the same spot, the scattering of friends' ashes on the Moor and for some continuing that engagement by wanting to be scattered there once they die. Abbie's anxiety of not being able to walk the Moor has informed her to undertake an art course so when the day comes that she cannot walk across the Moor she can at least still be part of it. This is further highlighted when she comments that she has not tried to paint it just yet as this would be giving up her engaging body and realising the changing temporal personhood and loss of certain parts of her perceived and experienced 'self'. To consider Merleau-Ponty's 'reversibility thesis' in this light demonstrates how perception as experienced and embodied sensations are brought about by objects or things that are external to the mind and brings out the self (Tilley 2008: 23). Through our involvement in a world full of things, being the seer and being seen, this participates in the character of our perception (Tilley 2008).

Walking is a central element in how both Bronze Age and present day individuals come to 'dwell' on and with Dartmoor. Through walking the body becomes intertwined with the material properties of the Moor, the uneven terrain, steep slopes, areas of wet and boggy ground, the full sensual engagement experienced by all the senses and also proprioception. Walking up a steep hill such as Ugborough Beacon or Western Beacon to reach the cairns is to involve the whole proprioceptive body, and that physiologically is the same now as it would have been ascending the same slopes in the Bronze Age. The top half of the body naturally leans forward, breathing becomes deeper, legs get heavy and the body starts to sweat. These experiences are all part of the engaged and

involved body, one that has changed little apart from footwear and clothes. The same is true when walking the stone rows, where the physical effort involved would have been much the same. Having made allowance for the changes in ground vegetation, the topography in which they are located and cross, as well as their altitude, has not changed -and thus how they are walked along, the full physical bodily experience has changed little.

Of course, interpretation and the meaning associated with the walk will have changed, but the row still leads the walker. This agency is still the same now as it was in the Bronze Age. Bodily orientation is still focused along the row and in the direction where the row is taking the body. This maybe over a short distance in which the effort needed is slight, as at Cantrell double row. The row's topography may have few changes and easy to walk as at Drizzlecombe and Corringdon. At Glasscombe Corner and Piles Hill the location of the rows on sloping ground calls for considerable effort in ascending them and so a greater proprioceptive experience. The body is not only orientated along the row, it is also orientated to 'look out' both physically through the posture of the body and via the senses. Natural features such as ridges between hills, coombes and valleys are much like the rows where they prescribe movement. Within this movement other topographic features like the tors and rock outcrops similarly control and orientate the body towards them, involving more or less bodily involvement. There a number of websites that describe the walks between and along these topographic features highlighting particular points of reference and including descriptive words such as hard, difficult, strenuous. Peoples' personal experiences are remembered and recollected, past onto others. Considering the stone rows again, there are also many websites that describe the topography as you walk along the row. Some will have more detail than others and is indicative of perhaps a keen eye and knowledge of the surrounding environment, other peoples' knowledge may have been gained via many walks and visits. Through such descriptions the body is 'bringing in' the specific features in the local and surrounding landscape. In both the past and present this affords the body perceiving and experiencing the landscape through the eyes, which are in the head, itself on top of the spine which can move up and down, left and right. This in-turn is on a moving body that is feeling and sensing the environment as it moves along 'paths of observation' (Gibson 1979). Together walking and landscape are constantly involving and changing the body's perception and orientation, one that is constantly gaining knowledge and embodying them as memories or re-collections, of for example

a specific view and the reaction to it or a particularly strenuous part of the walk where more effort was needed and this could be verbally re-collected to other people as "my legs really hurt after that" or "I can't wait to reach the top". Peripatetic involvement is part of both the prehistoric and contemporary way to inhabit Dartmoor.

7.2 Concluding Remarks

Applying archaeological and anthropological methodologies to the study of Dartmoor's Bronze Age and contemporary landscape perceptions, and the analysis of the collected data has demonstrated that there was and is a close social framework which exists between people and the Moor. A consideration of this sociality and the temporal context between the two has enabled a greater understanding of the Moor's affective agency and its own materiality and Being. Applying a Phenomenological landscape based approach, one that is concerned with archaeological and anthropological perceptions of Dartmoor's landscape, past and present, is to demonstrate that there are multiple ways to experience and embody those experiences. However, through analysis of the data, the "bones" of the landscape (Tilley 2008b: 274), the rocks, hills and rivers, it is possible to extract certain 'Lateral Universals' (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 120 from Casey 2008: 45), place variables and experiential variables that span different cultures, different periods and different people which are experienced and sensed through the body and become embodied.

Appendices.

Appendix A

Dartmoor's Archaeology

Turner's stone circle typology (continued from Chapter 3 Dartmoor's Archaeology: Past work)

Stone Ring: The term Stone ring is used for an annular bank made of stones, soil or a mixture of both, and which, in the majority of cases, no features occur in the central area (Turner 1990: 32). There are a number of variant forms, some have the central area infilled to a level lower than the ring cairn, others surround an isolated cairn or a tor or rock. In the final sub group the bank of the stone ring joins the rough arc of a circle with either end against a tor (Turner 1990: 32). By surrounding or embellishing the tors or rock formations the builders were making them conspicuous and noticeable to others. Stone rings appear to have been built on the fringes of the Moor with a small central concentration above the west bank of the Cherry Brook (Turner 1990: 32). Around the north-west quarter they represent the most numerous type of ring monument and seem to have been constructed for their visual impact on the landscape: 64% are sited on the edge of hillside slopes or spurs, and most cannot be recognised from more than a few metres away. The other sub-groups are located in conspicuous positions, 92% on the summit of hills, ridges or tors (Turner 1990: 32).

Embanked Stone Circles: These are annular banks of earth, stones or a mixture of both, with an inner edge of orthostats, usually contiguous. The orthostatic ring has an average diameter of 12m and a height of 0.4m, the bank outside this has an average width of 1.3m and height of 0.3m. There are again variant forms within this group, one has a cairn in the central area, and two have the orthostatic ring on the outside of the bank (Turner 1990: 38). They are superficially similar to hut circles, so making it difficult to identify and many are possibly still to be recorded next to or near hut circles without adjacent field walls or enclosures (Turner 1990). The distinctive features that distinguish the two apart is that, embanked stone circles lack an entrance and levelled floor, and occasionally some of the embanked stone circles are known to have a central cist (Turner 1990: 38).

Double Kerb Circles: Only two have been recorded so far (East Lowton and Metherel). They are composed of an outer circle of closely-set large orthostats and inner circle of smaller stones set on edge forming a kerb of uniform height, the spaces in between the two is filled with small stones and soil. The interiors are slightly lower than the external ground surface (Turner 1990: 41).

Stone Circles: Stones circles are well represented in south-west England, with twenty-five known from Cornwall, sixteen in Devon all with but two of them on Dartmoor and at least six in Somerset and seven in Dorset (Butler 1997: 145). They are classified as rings of free-standing orthostats, generally non-contiguous with the central area appearing empty (Turner 1990, Butler 1997). Their diameter's range from 3.4m to 38m and the stones may be widely or closely spaced, many have a close association with stone rows. Those that do not have any association with other monuments are termed 'isolated circles' and appear to have been carefully positioned with regard to their visibility from different locations (Turner 1990: 54). Seven circles are arranged in a curved array around the north-east border of the moor, not intervisible but apparently in a planned configuration regularly spaced 1.25 or 2 km apart (Butler 1997: 146). Topography seems to have been an important feature for isolated circles of all sizes. Turner (1990) notes how many are sited so that they can be seen on the skyline when approached from the river valleys, but were overlooked by higher areas of ground from one or more directions. Visibility is often restricted to one direction and may hint to a possible route of approach to the monument (Butler 1997: 147). The careful siting of the isolated circles of Sherberton, Scorhill and Longstone Moor locates them within natural amphitheatres, similar to Castlerigg, Cumbria (Turner 1990: 55). Eight of the largest circles, with diameters of 20m, all seem to have similar topographical locations. They lie with one axis on a low ridge, and the other in a saddle on the axis at right-angles to the ridge. All are on ridges that drop to river valleys to the north and south but in positions where the ridge forms a saddle dominated by high ground to the east and west; Sourton, Stoneton, Sherbeton, Buttern and the Grey Weathers are good examples (Turner 1990, Butler 1997).

Of the 19 stone circles less than 20m in diameter, 11 are associated with stone rows. Three are set in complex groups of ritual and burial monuments (sometimes termed 'sanctuaries') on triangular areas defined by river or stream junctions (Turner 1990). These complexes are dominated by stone rows, at Merrivale and Shovel Down the

circles are placed away from the main groups of monuments, while the Fernworthy circles lie between two double stone rows roughly on their alignment (Turner 1990). Only in the southern half of the Moor are stone rows and stone circles found together but in isolation from other types of monuments. On opposite sides of the moor there are two multiple circles with four concentric rings. Shovel Down in the north-east and Yellowmead in the south-west. The complex at Shovel Down has a double stone row connected to its outer circle that measures 8.6m in diameter. At Yellowmead the diameter of the outer circle is twice that of Shovel Down, and the several short lengths of stones outside the circle on its lower end may represent the remains of stone rows leading to the circle (Worth 1953 after Turner 1990: 58). Butler (1997) suggests that as most of the circles were excluded from enclosed land this may suggest that they were regarded as common property or an assembly point for the wider community. Burl (1976) postulates a similar point by commenting that the smaller circles of the south-west peninsula may well be chronologically later than the larger sites of Stanton Drew, Avebury and Stonehenge, and their focus was more at the smaller community level.

Direct dating evidence for the ring cairns and stone circles is limited to the radiocarbon dates from Shaugh Moor and the few finds discovered by excavation traditionally dated to the Early Bronze Age. Environmental evidence in the form of pollen diagrams supports a similar date range, but as Simmons (1964) notes it must be considered that the stone row and circle builders are not necessarily the same people as those who caused the agricultural clearings to be made. However, what is fairly certain is that stone rows were erected in cleared areas, possibly only pockets of clearings within a wider forested area, and that the circles on the higher moor were probably laid out in a totally treeless landscape similar to that of today.

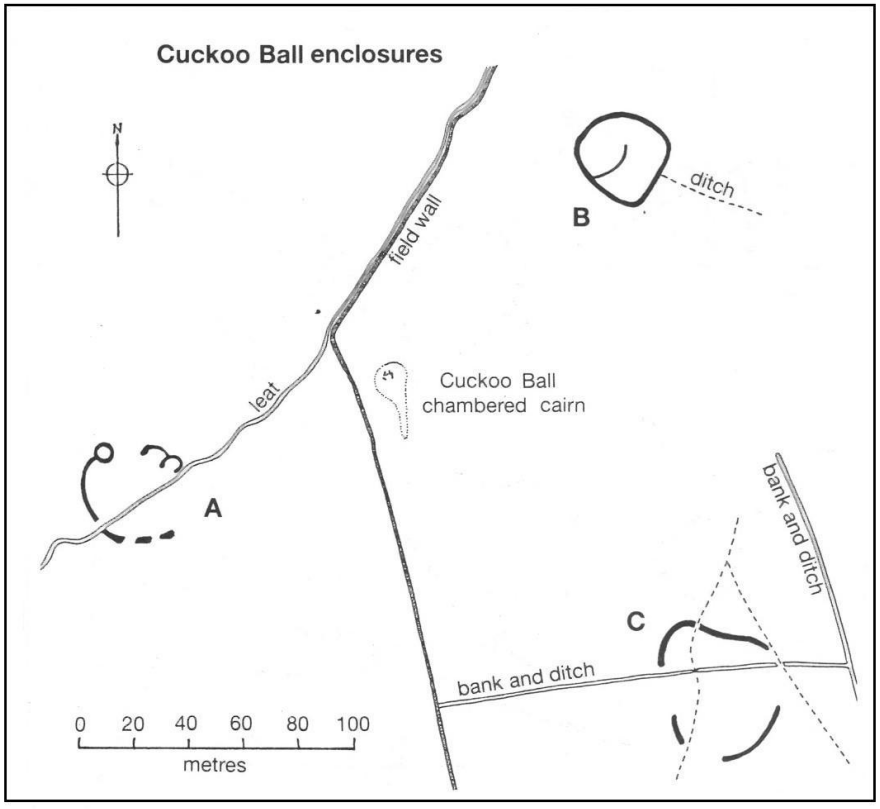
Appendix B

Site data

Neolithic Long Barows/Chambered Tombs

There are three Long Barrows/Chambered tombs within the study are, and a rectangular enclosure (112 x 34m) located on an area of land between the east and west Glaze Brooks to the north of the study area. It has been suggested that it may be a mortuary enclosure dating to the Early-Middle Neolithic, similar sites have been recorded and dated to this period (Harding 1999).

Cuckoo Ball Long Barrow/Chambered Tomb: Little survives of this monument, probably as a result of the surrounding newtake walling robbing it for stone. Three Bronze Age Enclosures are located within the same area as the tomb (see figure below). One is to the northeast, one to the southeast and one to the southwest. Originally the tomb was twenty-eight metres in length and tapering in shape. However, it dimensions are impossible to determine due to the destruction associated with the surrounding modern enclosure. The tomb's chamber is at the upper end and orientated west of north, with two side slabs still standing in place and several other large blocks most likely from a chamber lying alongside (Butler 1993: 37).



Plan demonstrating the location and siting of Cuckoo Ball Chambered Cairn and surrounding enclosures (After Butler 1993).

Butterdon Hill Long Barrow/Chambered Tomb: Located outside of the improved land and approximately 400m to the north it is much better preserved and retains its tapering shape. It's length is twenty-five metres in length and in places just under a metre in height and is suggested to be not much lower that its original height (Butler 1993: 37). A line of slabs within the body of the mound has led to the suggestion that the Long Barrow/Cairn is a Gallery Grave; no chamber has been exposed (Butler 1993: 37). Approximately five metres to the south there is a small cairn.

Corringdon Ball: Orientated north/south and situated on a saddle of land between Brent Fore Hill and Corringdon Ball, it has a tapering shape and is approximately forty-five metres in length. It would have once been a very prominent monument within the landscape. However, the northern end has been badly damaged by a trackway running over it and the southern end has been destroyed. There are still several large standing orthostats visible at the southern end and would have formed a substantial chamber. There are two Bronze Age cairns nearby.

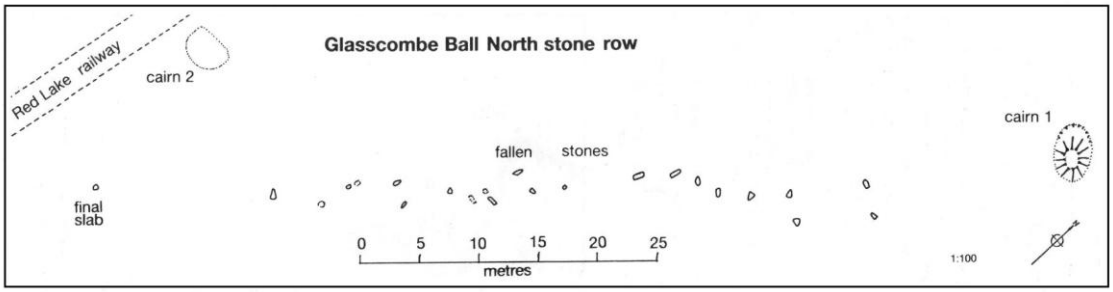
Stone Rows

There are fourteen stone rows across both areas. Three rows are recorded in the Middle Plym Valley, two single rows and one double. There are eleven rows in the Butterdon Hill-Glaze Brook Valley area, of which three are single rows, six double, one is part double and part single and one is a multiple row. The rows occupy different topographical locations, orientations and the placement of terminal features. A twelfth row can be added to this area at Treeland Brake located on Brent Fore Hill but out of sight of those in Glaze Brook Valley. The row was also orientated to the northeast as with the other rows in the Glaze Brook Valley. Unfortunately the row was destroyed in the late 70s, even at this time it had been heavily robbed and only four medium sized stones existed with one in the distance that is thought belonged to the retaining circle of the cairn (Butler 1993: 96).

An interesting point has also been raised by Turner (1991) relating to the Sourton Cairn Alignment. This alignment is 334.5m long, running north-south and has a total of 74 small cairns still visible with diameters ranging from 1-2.5m (Turner 1991: 143). The original number of small cairns may well have been 90-92, still present at the southern end is a cairn 10m in diameter. Although stone rows are common across the Moor, none are found in the north-west quarter, where the cairn alignment is located.

Turner postulates that the small cairns leading up to the larger cairn, being off centre, are incorporating those features associated with rows elsewhere on the Moor (Turner 1991: 144). No other parallels have yet been located.

Glasscombe Ball North: A single row with a northeast/southwest orientation and 24 pillar shaped slabs, up to a metre in length are all fallen. Butler (1993: 98) has suggested that the stones have lain flat for centuries due to the ground level rising up to their upper surfaces. The shape and size of the stones would have them and the row quite conspicuous, especially in the open location in which the row is found. Its present length is 84.5m with an average distance of c.3m between each stone. The row possibly originated from the damaged cairn at its higher eastern end, although in its present orientation it would barely have touched its southern edge (Butler 1993: 98). As noted, 24 stones can safely be considered to be part of the alignment descending to the southwest. The cairn has an elongated appearance, most likely due to the upcast from where it has been dug into. Viewing the cairn from existing last stone it breaks the horizon to the east, but how much further the row continued downhill is unknown.

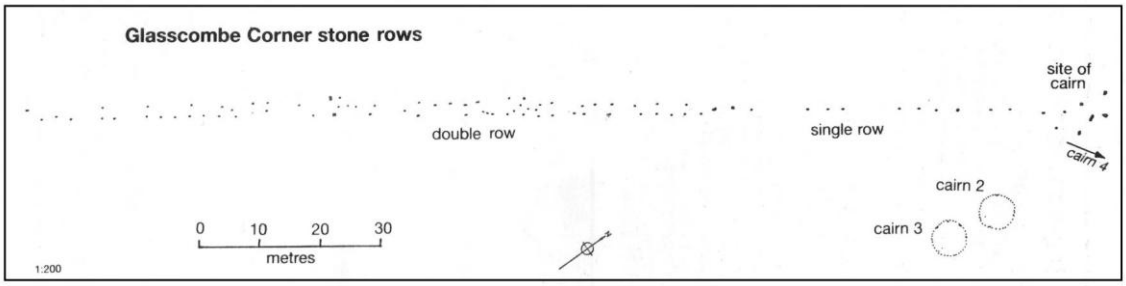


Plan of Glascombe Ball North row (After Butler 1993).

Glasscombe Corner: with same alignment as Glasscombe Ball North, northeast-southwest, this row is located at 330m OD on the western side of the glaze Brook Valley. Glasscombe Corner has two interesting features; the first is that it is part single and part double (the only other part single and part double is Drizzlecombe Row 1 in the Middle Plym Valley), and the terminal cairn is it sited at the lower end of the row. At present the length is 173m with a total of 82 stones; 59 standing, 5 fallen, 18 buried (Butler 1993: 96). The average distance between the rows is 1.7m, with an average 2.4-3.2m distance between the stones. Unlike Drizzlecombe Row 1 where the single becomes a double there is a continuation of that side as part of the double row where at Glasscombe Corner the double part of the row and single are two separately defined

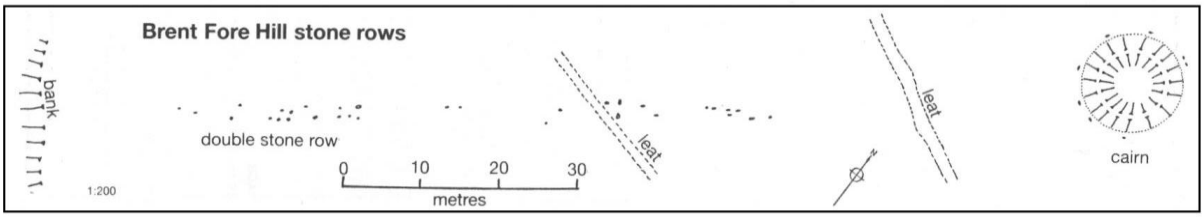
features. Further to these interesting features there is a distinct difference in the types of stone used in each section. The single part is 60m long and composed of larger, rougher and pillar/column shaped stones. The double part uses much smaller and slab shaped stones in its construction. Many are now buried, but were set closer together at a fairly constant 2.4m (Butler 1993: 96). This gives the row the appearance of larger stones at its lower end and smaller stones moving towards it upper end. Little remains of the terminal cairn located at the lower end of the row, there are a few flat slabs surrounding a central hollow and possibly are the remains of a retaining circle (Butler 1993).

Plan of Glascombe Corner row (After Butler 1993).



Brent Fore Hill: This double row at 320m OD descends a relatively steep slope towards the East Glaze Brook on its eastern bank. The row is aligned northeast-southwest and overlooks the stone rows and cairns of the Corringdon Ball group on the opposite side of the East Glaze Brook. The present vegetation of furze and gorse cover many of the stones however, 21 have been recorded; 7 standing and 4 buried with an average size of 0.17m (Butler 1993: 94). The total of 32 stones is suggested to be only 20% of the total number and so the present row may have been longer than its present length of 120m (Butler 1993: 94). In his description, R. H Worth noted a few stones further downhill but are difficult to distinguish from the natural surface stone. The row has been damaged by two leats cutting across it near to its upper end and half-way point. Where tinning has occurred in the East Glaze Brook it has damaged its lower end. The terminal cairn has an interesting feature. Surrounding the outside base of the cairn and 13.5m across there is a ring of small stone slabs, like those used in the row, and set within this there are several other concentric rings. The same feature is recorded at the cairns in the Corringdon Ball group (Butler 1993: 94).

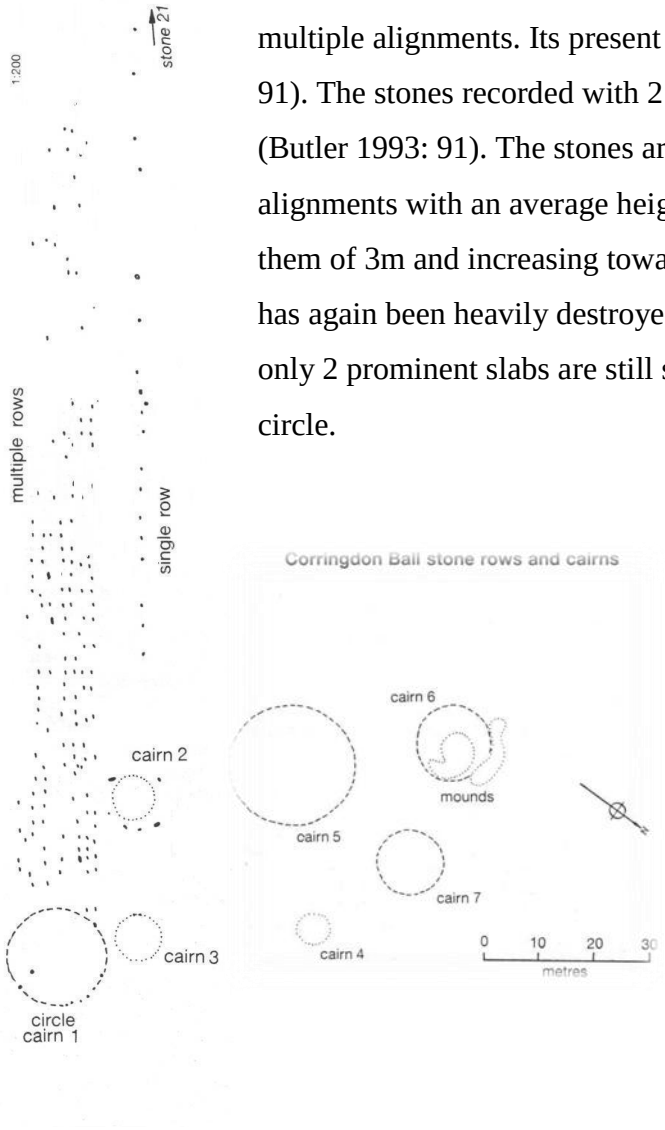
Plan of Brent Fore Hill double row (After Butler 1993).



Corringdon Ball rows: Located on the west bank of the East Glaze Brook this grouping of rows, multiple stone rings and cairns is a very interesting set of monuments. The area in which the monuments are located is 310m OD and sited with views down the Glaze Brook Valley to the south, Brent Fore Hill is visible on the opposite bank and Corringdon Ball Gate chambered cairn breaks the skyline to the east. Uphill to the northwest is the rectangular enclosure of possible Neolithic date. The group of monuments consists of two or three multiple stone rings of considerable size, two or three smaller cairns one which is the terminal cairn for a single row and there is part of a retaining circle for another cairn at the lower end of the seven-fold stone row. The rows have a northeast-southwest orientation as with the previous row, this orientation is found on six or seven of the alignments from Brent Fore Hill in the east of the study area to Butter Brook in the west.

The multiple rows have had at least four surveys which have added further stones to each individual alignment. The most recent survey in 1990 recorded the tops of 30 more stones once hidden. There are 7 alignments with approximately 211 standing stones and approximately 36 fallen stones with a present length of 178m (Butler 1993: 91). The stones towards the cairn end are clear from turf and have an average height of less than 0.1m high (Butler 1993: 91). Spacing between the rows changes over the alignments with the three north rows at the east end being spaced about a metre apart and increasing to 3m either side of the central row then to 1.5m between the three south rows, with intervals between the stones at 2m (Butler 1993: 91). The gradient that both rows are sited is very slight but, there is a discernable slope and the cairn is located at the lower end of the alignments. Very little remains of the cairn, the whole mound had been removed and only 6 stones of the retaining circle exist. The size of the ring is approximately 14.5m in diameter, there are more slabs visible within the perimeter and may well compose part of inner circles like those of the multiple stone rings (Butler

1993: 91). The rows meet symmetrically around the cairns western edge with the middle row orientated towards the centre of the cairn (Butler 1993: 91).



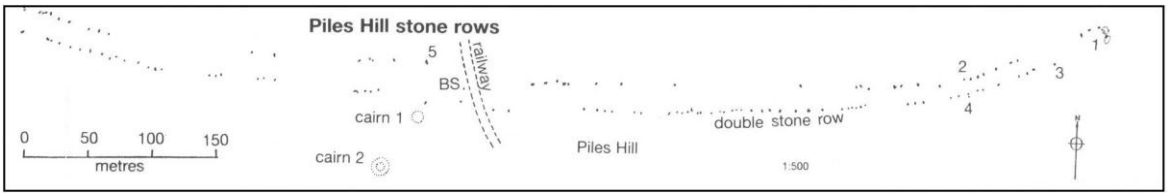
Plan of the Corringdon Ball rows and cairns (After Butler 1993).

The single row is 7m to the north and runs parallel with the multiple alignments. Its present length is 132m with a total of 32 91). The stones recorded with 21 standing, 7 fallen and 4 buried (Butler 1993: 91). The stones are larger than those in the multiple alignments with an average height of 0.28m with spacing between them of 3m and increasing towards the end of the cairn. The cairn has again been heavily destroyed and little survives of the mound, only 2 prominent slabs are still standing to denote a retaining circle.

Piles Hill: Located on a very prominent position at 350-385m OD, the row would have been extremely impressive and monumental. Unlike any of the alignments in the study area the row has an almost due east to west orientation, but curving to the north for 100m at both ends (Butler 1993: 63), neither end is intervisible. At present only 12 of the 120 recorded stones are standing with 90 fallen and 18 buried. Vegetation makes it very difficult to even find the stones but when found they are very impressive orthostats. Where the stones have fallen the majority fell with their long axis aligned along the row, averaging 1.6m in length, 26 of the stones are over 2m long (Butler 1993: 63). Those stones still fixed have an average height of 1.27m with the tallest at

2.25m (Butler 1993: 63). The distance between the rows gradually widens to the west from 15m in the east end and 19m at the west and terminating on the eastern side of the Erme Valley (Butler 1993: 63). The poor condition of each end makes it difficult to conclude anything for certain; however, the terminal pillars may well still be present and gives an original length of 865m, with possibly 150 stones in each row. Therefore, a total of 300 stones with an average spacing of 5.55m between each standing stone.

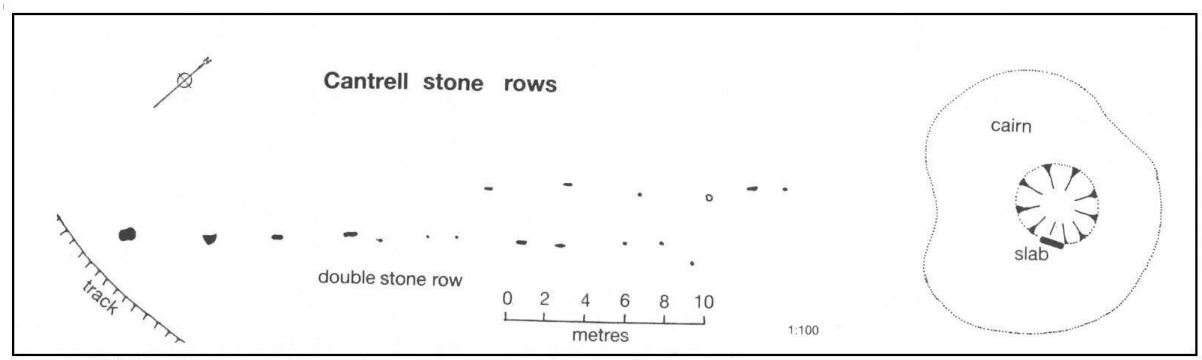
The start of the eastern end is difficult to make out but, the plan from Butler (1993: 63) provides a good outline of the course of the row. Stone 1 is located between both the north and south rows and is possibly the terminal pillar. The third largest remaining stone at 2.5m in height, it is situated between a small earthwork and a stone pit (ages unknown). From here the row travels in a northeast-southwest orientation before curving sharply to the west at stones 2 and 4. Butler notes that this adjustment is so sharp and obvious that it must have been deliberate. It continues on this orientation over the summit into the Erme Valley until after approximately 100m the alignment alters course to the north as with the eastern end. The final stone in the row is 1.9m high and set at right angles to the row, with the final stone in the south row being large in size at 2.3 x 1.6m across (Butler 1993: 63). No cairns are associated with either end –unless the earthwork was one- but, a summit cairn is passed by the alignment about 15m to the north of stone 5 and there are also two other cairns to the south on the crest of the ridge.



Plan of Piles Hill double row (After Butler 1993).

Cantrell Row: A double row located at 230m OD on the southern slope of Western Beacon and in a rather isolated spot away from the other monuments and settlements in the study area. When it was originally constructed it may have been associated with other contemporary features which have since been destroyed due to the disturbance in the surrounding area. The row is orientated northeast-southwest and descends the slope from a cairn at its upper end for 48m. At present there are 18 stones recorded over the two rows, 9 standing, 1 fallen and 8 buried with an average of 3m separating the rows. The largest stones are to the lower end of the row and where it has been possible

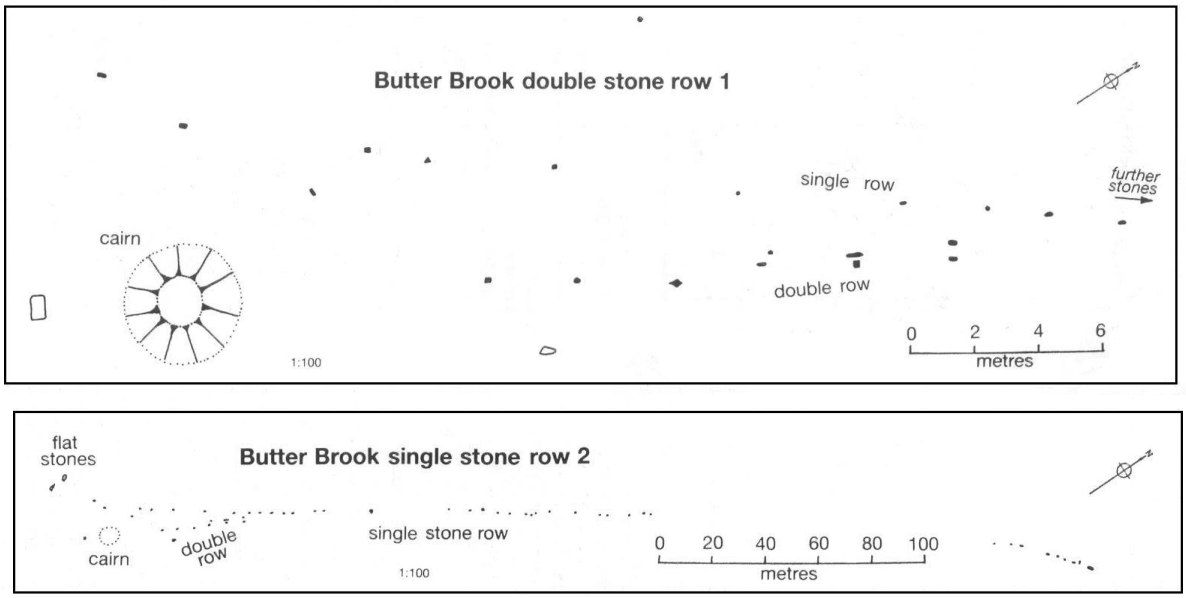
measure their heights, the average is 0.4m. The cairn has been dug into and is now a messy mound with no retaining circle recorded.



Plan of Cantrell double row (After Butler 1993)

Butter Brook Stone Rows: Both rows are located near the head of the Butter Brook at 290m OD, within natural surface stone making it difficult to work out the alignments between the natural. The single and double rows are closely associated, with the single row orientated at an angle where it crosses the end of the double row -this feature is also recorded at Sharpitor, southwest Dartmoor (Butler 1993: 31). The double row is short at only 25.6m in length and the three remaining pairs of stones are set very close together with, at present, a total of 10 stones, 9 standing and 1 fallen (Butler 1993: 31). Both rows are orientated northeast-southwest. At the lower end, where the cairn is located, the rows are west of centre to the small cairn (Butler 1993: 31).

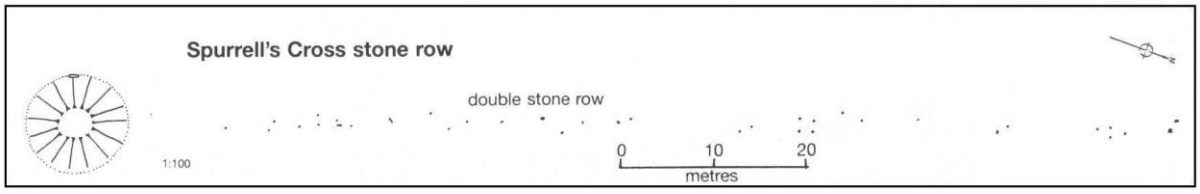
The single row is much longer at 198m with 37 recorded stones, 35 standing and 2 fallen. The stones are smaller and set at an average of 2.5m between them (Butler 1993: 32). The row crosses the double alignment after approximately 30m, with the possible start of the row a few metres west of the cairn, but this is difficult to be certain. After crossing the double row it continues into a clitter spread making it difficult to distinguish, and reappears after continuing upslope until ending at a pillar 1.2m long and most likely the original terminal point. Butler (1993: 32) notes that once the single row reappears after the clitter, it curves by 16 degrees from its original orientation.The surrounding area has a number of cairns, but as they just out of the study area they were not part of the survey.



Plans of Butter Brook double row (above top) and single row (above) (After Butler 1993).

Spurrell's Cross: Parallel to the Butterdon Hill row and 250m to the west is the double row of Spurrell's Cross. Located at 350m OD much of what survives of the two rows are covered by gorse and heather, further adding to the difficulties in finding the stones. Recorded at 119m only 6 stones are standing, 2 fallen and 38 buried (with many more buried deep in the turf). Butler 1993: 28) suggests that the irregular alignment of the flat slabs implies that they had been fallen for a considerable time before being covered. Those stones that are still standing, in each row, average 0.38m in height and set at an angle to the alignment (Butler 1993: 28). The rows are set 1.1m apart and from the buried stones observable, Butler estimates spacing between them of approximately 1.5m (Butler 1993: 28). The row has a north-south orientation.

The cairn is located at the lower end of the alignment and breaks the skyline to the south and was once surrounded by a ring of tall stones outside its base as with the cairn at the southern end the Butterdon Hill row. One stone still survives on is western edge, at least two are buried and another lies a short distance away. Tops of slabs are visible through the turf and suggest an arrangement of at least two concentric inner rings (Butler 1993: 28). Plan of Spurrell's Cross row (After Butler 1993).



Butterdon Hill Row: At 1973m in length, Butterdon Hill is the second largest alignment on the moor. In a rough north-south orientation its course stretches across the ridge of Butterdon Hill and separates Harford Moor to the west and Ugborough Moor to the east. At present there is a total of 305 stones still standing, 100 fallen and 152 buried, with an original number of 900 has been suggested taking into account where there are gaps and the stones that have been taken (Butler 1993: 25). When considering the changes in direction along the row its construction my possibly have been in two or three separate stages. The southern end is at 360m OD and rises to 380m OD at its northern end. The cairn is approximately 8m in diameter and may have a number of concentric inner rings, although now covered by the mound. Outside of the base of the covering mound is a ring of substantially sized slabs forming an 11m diameter stone ring. Several have become completely buried with the rest either fallen or almost fallen.

Although the cairn has a surrounding ring the row itself does not meet it and has its origin approximately a metre west of the centre of the cairn. Moving northwards the first 590m is easily visible and roughly straight, with a slight bend where the ground slopes down into the top of Butter Brook to the west. The tallest stones are found in the first 60m, many of them over a metre in length and set at approximately 2m apart (Butler 1993: 25). The row passes a cairn by a few metres and when viewed from the south gives the impression of a terminal cairn. Looking north the course of the row is visible up to cairn 2 where it descends out of sight on the far side of Butterdon Hill and then ascends Piles Hill up to its terminal pillar at Hobajon's Cross. Both ends are intervisible and from the rows terminal pillar the cairn is visible on the skyline. In the early 1800s stones were recorded to have continued for a further 300m to the north and past Hobajon's Cross and on a slightly different alignment (Butler 1993: 27). However, none are noticeable now, not even their sockets.

Drizzlecombe Rows: The three stone rows are located at the south western end of the Higher Hartor ridge on a triangle of land formed by the Drizzlecombe and the River Plym. The area in which the alignments are located consist of twenty-one cairns and four enclosures with six individual roundhouses. Lukis surveyed some of the monuments in 1879, with Worth providing a detailed account and survey of the remains in 1889 (Butler 1994: 135). The rows are all orientated to the south west and descend along the central area of the ridge. Each has a cairn at its upper terminal end with

substantially sized terminal menhirs at the lower terminal end (all were re-erected in 1893).

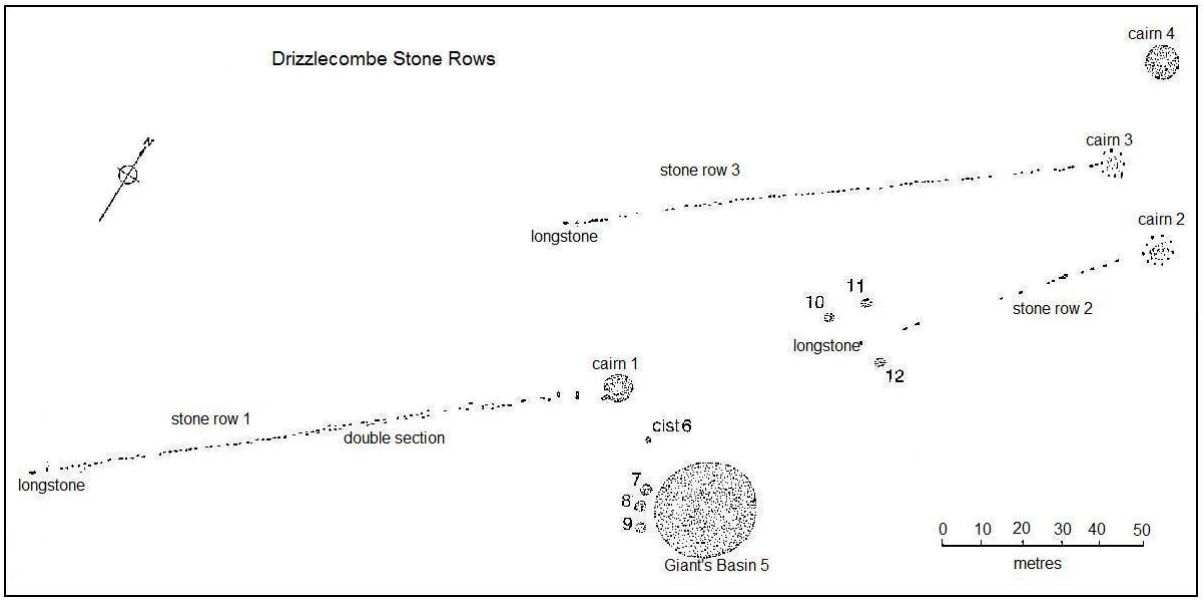
Row 1: The three metre menhir at of row 1 is orientated with its broad face in line the rows of the stone. During it re-erection it was recorded that this was its original orientation (Butler 1994: 135). From the terminal menhir the row ascends 149.5m towards the centre of a cairn, with the lower half being single and becoming double for the next approximately 47m forming an avenue 0.9m in width, then becoming single again for the last approximately 28m (Butler 1994: 135). Butler (1994: 135) notes that this feature appears to have been an original design feature as neither of the single segments could have been paired as they are aligned along the central axis of the avenue, but there junctions differ at each end. At the lower end the single part of the alignment abuts onto the centre at the start of the double part, while at the upper end three slabs nearest to the cairn are placed to form a curve to continue the southern row only (Butler 1994: 135). The spacing of the stones between the two lower sections are regular, but as the alignment becomes single at the upper end stone spacing and slab size increase (Butler 1994: 135). There is evidence for a ring of internal stones around the cairn.

Row 2: The terminal menhir at four metres in height is the largest on Dartmoor (Butler 1994) and has a distinct tapered shape with a 'bulb' on its east face and aligned along the line of the row. The row is the shortest of the three rows at 83.2m with the alignment of the stones 'off centre' to the north of the terminal cairn (Butler 1994: 138). Stones used in the construction of the row are the largest used in any of the Drizzlecombe rows and slab shaped with intervals between them varying from 3m and 4.5m. The terminal cairn is surrounded by a ring of eleven large slab shaped stones.

*Row 3:*Tweleve metres to the NW of row 2's terminal cairn is the terminal cairn of row 3 and itself surrounded by a ring of slabs 8.6m in diameter and up to a metre in height (Butler 1994: 138). From the cairn, the row descends to the SW for 149.5m and the orientation of the row at the cairn end is approximately 1.5m north of its centre. Single throughout, the stones are small and also has the smallest of the terminal menhirs at 2.3m (Butler 1994: 138). Of the possible 119 stones (Butler 1994: 138) that form the alignment there is a spacing of 1.2m. The majority of the stones are buried or only just visible above the turf. Butler raises an interesting point when he considers that the row 3

was an attempt to duplicate row 1 and therefore later. This is marked by a curve in the alignment that creates a 7° difference in orientation from the upper and lower ends that brings the lower half of the row parallel with row 1.

Plan of the Drizzlecombe rows (After Butler 1994).



Evidence for Retaining Circles and Internal Rings.

A number of the terminal cairns have surrounding them a retaining circle and some have evidence for internal concentric rings of stone under the cairn mound. Of the nine terminal cairns six have retaining circles, internal stone rings of both. Of the other five alignments, Piles Hill has no cairns, the cairn at Butter Brook double row is badly damaged and so inconclusive and the single row at Butter Brook is essentially open at both ends. The Cantrell row has no recorded retaining circle or internal rings and the same is true for Glasscombe Ball North -as mentioned the cairn may not even be the terminal end. The Butterdon Hill row has a retaining circle of large slabs creating a diameter of approximately eleven metres across surrounding the cairn's edge and Butler's plan (1993: 25) demonstrates the possibility of the mound covering possibly three internal rings. With the present vegetation cover only the stones for one internal ring are visible. Spurrell's Cross row has a similar design to that of Butterdon Hill with tall slabs shaped stones surrounding the covering mound. Only one still stands but at least two lie as they fell and now buried with one sited a short distance away and possibly the result of the stone being moved. Just beneath the turf under what would have been the mound is evidence for small slabs arranged in two concentric rings. The

cairn at Glasscombe Corner has been very badly damaged and the surviving fallen slabs around the cairn may represent a retaining circle. Interestingly the cairns sited near to the row and the terminal cairn are in much better condition and one has a retaining circle. The single row at Corringdon Ball has a badly damaged cairn with at least six stones of a retaining circle but only two still standing. Associated with the multiple alignments are the remains of a surrounding ring approximately fourteen metres in diameter. Very little remains of the internal mound and if you did not know there had been one you might well think there had not been one. Interestingly, unlike the slabs used in the surrounding circles of the other cairns the stones used in its construction are very small and pillar/block in form. Finally, Brent Fore Hill located approximately fifty metres north-east and on the opposite bank of the East Glaze Brook has a retaining circle thirteen and a half metres in diameter and using slabs similar to those in the row. Internally there is evidence for a number of concentric rings

Appendix C

Walking Butterdon Hill stone row

Below is an extract from the field notes on walking Butterdon Hill row. The aim is to provide a context in which the row is located and to describe the changing features along its course, and to also demonstrate to the reader the importance in which writing is part of the process of a seeing and feeling body in a phenomenological study. It is the process in which the interaction of self and place arises and the medium in which a knowledge of place is achieved (Tilley 2004a: 223).

Leaving from the terminal cairn: as you leave the cairn the ground slopes down and views decrease to the SE but increase to the SW with cairn 6 (view 1)Butterdon Hill coming into view when you look back (think about effect if walking to the cairn). As you continue along the row after approximately 100m from the cairn all views to the SE and SW are blocked. Ugborough stays a constant feature as does Three Barrows with Sharp Tor framing the Upper Erme Valley to the N (view 2). The W, NW, N, NE is always 'open'. After approximately 250m cairn 18 on Weatherdon Hill and the surrounding landscape of Plymouth Sound and Plymouth Sound itself become visible to the SW. To the east Ugborough is visible on the skyline (view 3), not as prominent but still visible. After approximately 300m Ugborough to the E disappears and the focus moves to the SW, W, NW and as moving along the row to the north Knatta Barrow is always on the distant skyline, but as approach cairn 2 it disappears behind it and cairn 2 becomes a very prominent feature on a localised ridge of higher ground.

View 1 south onto and up to cairn 6.

View 2 north along the route of the row. From left to right in the far background are Sharp Tor, Three Barrows and Brent Fore Hill.

View 3 over to Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn (left of the photo). This is a constant feature along the length of the row until approximately 300m when focus moves to the SW, W, NW.

***Note**: When approaching this area from the north cairn 2 is skylined as you approach and ascend out of the dip that the row's course follows. From the lower ground it gives the impression of the termination point of the row. However, as you get closer you realise the row continues out over the ridge. This gives the idea of a "false end" (Helen Wickstead personal comment) and marks a major topographical change along the row's course (see view 4 below).*

View 4 demonstrating the view down (north) Butterdon Hill row to cairn 2. It is visiblein the centre of the photo and distinguishable by the being lighter green in colour. It would have originally have been more distinct due to the grey of the granite used in its construction. Hangershell Rock is visible to left of the photo.

Hangershell rock to the W remains a constant feature and possible that the standing stones recorded at Hangershell rock would have been visible too, as descend Hangershell disappears. As walk up to cairn 2 Ugborough reappears on the eastern skyline and the row descends relatively quickly into the western continuation of the Owley/Harford route way (view 5). From the bottom of the slope the row ascends up Piles Hill to the N and there is a big change in the orientation of landscape focus to the east. It is also from cairn 2 where the row descends a slope that the row changes orientation and further emphasises the "false end" appearance that cairn 2 produces.

Before descending the slope there are still extensive views to the SW through to the NW with Brent Hill visible to the E, Ugborough to the SE very prominent, Knatta Barrow to the N and the cairns on Weatherdon Hill 18 and 19 to the south west. Glas Barrow to the E is prominent on its local summit but as soon as move down from cairn 2, approximately 30-40m views to the SE become less visible. As move down slope from cairn 2 (approximately 150m) Lower Piles Hill and cairns come into view and Butter Brook plus the stone rows (although difficult to make out). Views to the W, NW become the main focus.

View 5 down in to the western continuation of the Owley-Harford route way from cairn 2.

***Note**: Think about the effect of walking the opposite direction when moving up and out of the dip with Glas Barrow, Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn, cairns on Weatherdon Hill and Bent Hill coming into view.*

Walking along the row where it descends there are very different views and noises. Much quieter and focus is to south west and west (view 6), all views blocked to south and east. Butter Brook and Lower Piles Hill become very prominent. Very much feeling of an 'enclosed landscape'! As start to rise up to Hobajon's Cross (mentioned by Butler

to have been a possible original termination 1993:25) Ugborough becomes visible again (view 8). Cairns 18 & 20 on Weatherdon Hill are visible as are cairns 2, 5, 6 & 12 on Butterdon Hill (view 7). Views to SW re-appear. Think when standing the stone ring around the terminal cairn would have been visible. As continue ascent up to the terminal pillar on Piles Hill all views to the north are blocked and also to the NE & NW. At Hobajon's Cross views are only to the SW, all other views are blocked by rising ground. Ugborough stays a prominent feature to the SE and the course of the second part of the row.

View 6 to the SW as descend from cairn 2 and the change in focus from the row.

View 7 as you ascend from Hobajon's Cross and the cairns visible at the southern end of the Butterdon Hill ridge.

View 8 to the east as you ascend from Hobajon's Cross. The Owley-Harford route way forms the lower central topography. Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn are clearly visible on the horizon.

From the longstone (terminal pillar); not until approximately 50-60m from below the terminal pillar do the hills of Three Barrows and Brent Fore Hill come into view(view 10) and the views to the NE. Extensive views to the SE and SW (view 11), Butterdon Hill blocks anything due south but Mothercombe visible to the west of Butterdon Hill ridge, and Weatherdon Hill cairns 18 and 19. Ugborough Beacon and Tor cairn and Eastern Beacon cairn all visible (view 9). Plymouth Sound to SW, cairns 1, 2, 5 & 6 on Butterdon Hill visible and Piles Hill summit cairn skylined 50m to the NW

View 9 to the from the Longstone.

View 10 north from the Longstone with Three Barrows (left) Brent Fore Hill (right) and framing Knatta Barrow (central) on the horizon.

View 11 to the SE over west Devon and down to Plymouth Sound from the Longstone.

Appendix D

Contested issues: Access

The following is information highlighting two highly contentious issues regarding the access and use of Dartmoor.

Tors.

Vixen Tor dispute.

One of the tallest, but not the highest tor on Dartmoor is Vixen Tor at thirty metres. Early guidebooks described it as looking like the Sphinx, with the body formed by the large granite blocks and its head represented by a single rock outcrop. As a result Vixen Tor is commonly nicknamed the "Sphinx of Dartmoor". For over thirty years access has been allowed onto the tor itself and the surrounding land; Vixen Tor is located within a walled enclosure. The tor is situated between the towns of Tavistock on the western fringes of the moor and Princetown, which is approximately central Dartmoor. Being only half a mile from the B3357 the tor has not only been popular with ramblers and especially rock climbers, but also day trippers and people out on short walks.

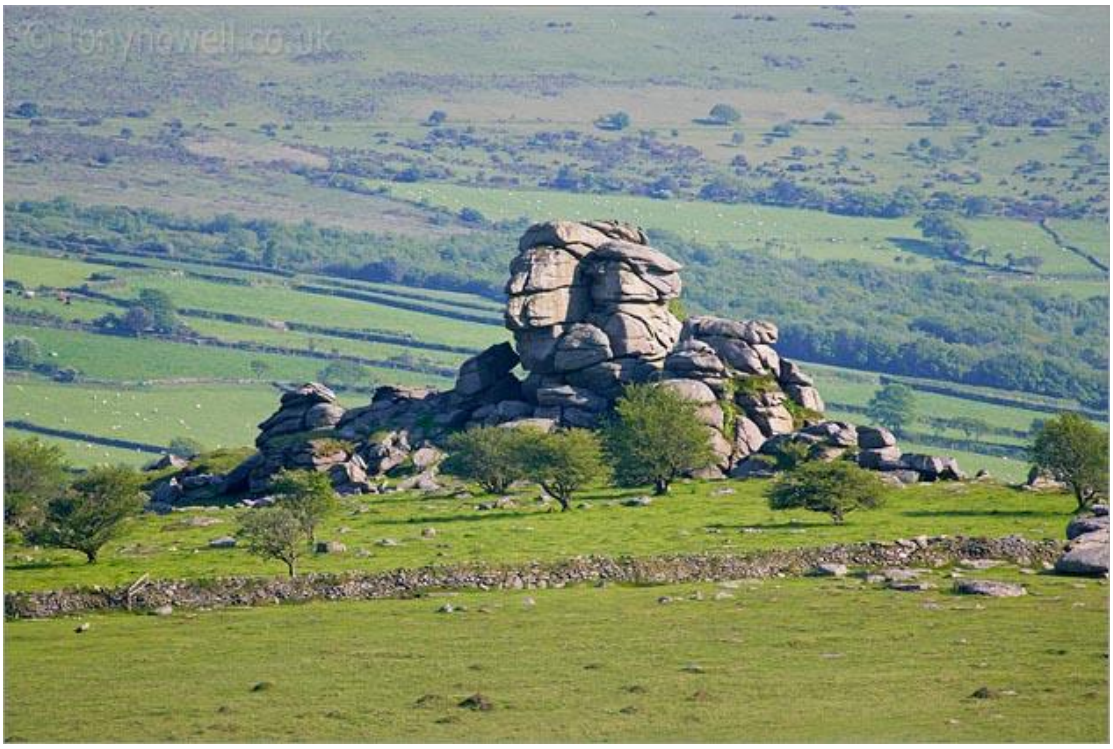
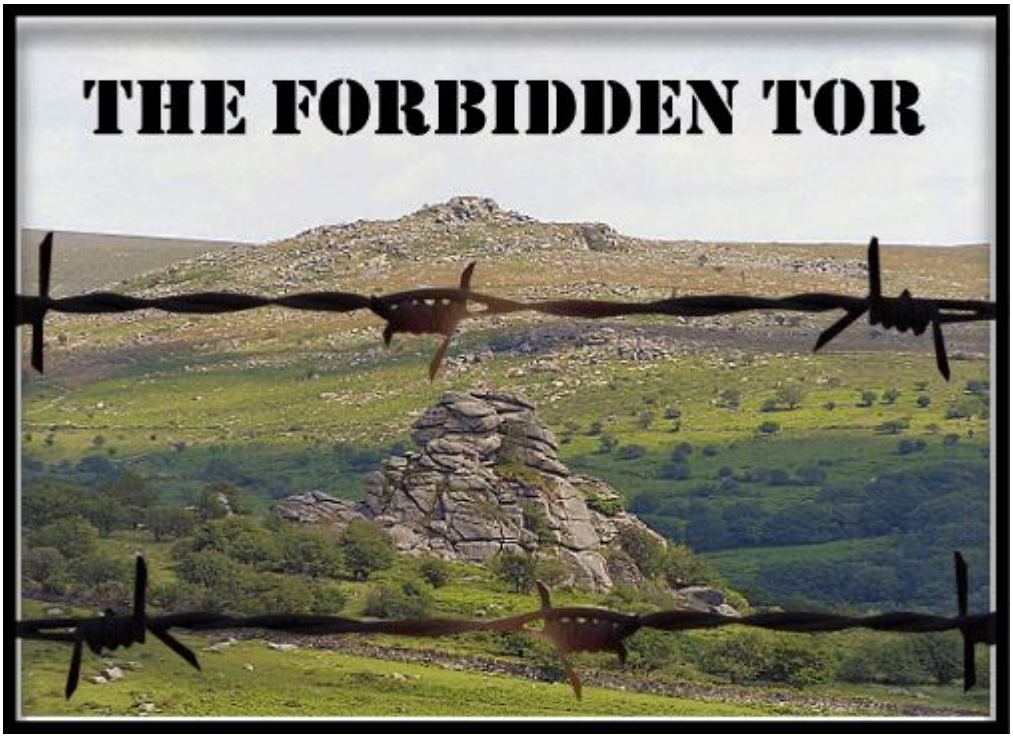


Photo of Vixen Tor and the Walkham Valley beyond (www.tonyhowell.co.uk 2008).

Vixiana The Witch: Folklore has it that many years ago a witch called 'Vixiana' lived in a cave located deep in the granite bowels of the tor. Standing at six feet tall, as thin as a Devon shovel handle, with a large hooked nose and deep sunken eyes as green as moss; she was truly a frightening sight. At sun up and dusk she would climb on to the top of the tor, sit and watch waiting for any unsuspecting lone travellers. Once spotted, she would wait until the traveller got near to the tor and then summon up a thick moor mist. The traveller would become engulfed and disorientated by the mist, she would call out to them supposedly directing them to safety, but instead they would find themselves trapped in a bog at the bottom of the tor. On hearing their screams, Vixiana would clear the mist so as to be able to watch the final desperate struggles of the poor traveller.



Vixen Tor closed off to the public (www.legendarydartmoor.co.uk 2008).

Vixen Tor dispute.

In 2002 Vixen Tor is bought by a local farmer called Mary Alford. On advice from her solicitors the tor is closed to public access in 2003 due to worries that should any person injure themselves while on the tor they could sue, despite there being no legal precedent in the UK. The first official protest was organised by the British Mountaineering Council on January 1st in the form of a 'mass trespass'. In 2004 the landowner was taken to court for failing to gain consent to clear scrub and apply

fertilizer in order to 'Improve' the moorland. Official maps show Vixen Tor as accessible under the Countryside Rights of Way Act. In May 2005 senior judges overturn the 2004 ruling of illegally applying fertilizer and in January 2005 a public inquiry rules that the moorland surrounding Vixen Tor is classed as farmland on the basis of the grass percentage of the total flora. As result the area falls outside the open access land and is closed to the public. In 2005 and 2006 there are another two 'mass trespasses' to continue pressure for access to the tor. The landowner proposes a one off payment of £30,000 followed by an annual payment of £35,000 plus insurance and legal costs to open the land under a ten year agreement, the Dartmoor National Park Authority had offered an annual payment of £1500. The dispute continues with the DPA (Dartmoor Preservation Association) launching a campaign to restore public access to other tors where access has been denied.

Public access denied to Vixen Tor (www.bbc.news.co.uk) 2008.

Today I walked on Vixen Tor

By John Bainbridge

Writer and journalist John Bainbridge, who is standing down soon as chief executive of a Dartmoor campaigning group trespasses on the disputed ground of Vixen Tor.

Today I walked on Vixen Tor. Today I was forced to trespass to gain access to the highest freestanding rock in the Dartmoor National Park. For today an inspector appointed to hold a public inquiry by Her Majesty's Government decreed that a Dartmoor tor, surrounded by moorland, all open country within the terms of the 1949 *National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act*, should not be opened under the newer freedom to roam legislation.

Tors are the defining feature of the Dartmoor National Park. They are what people come to see. Vixen Tor was a popular place to visit prior to its purchase three years ago by Mrs Mary Alford, who promptly closed it off from the public. Walkers adored Vixen Tor. Climbers learned to rock climb there. Local horse riding businesses used to halt there with their pony trekking parties. Vixen Tor was good for the local economy.

I find the idea that one individual should have absolute ownership rights to a Dartmoor tor bizarre.

What next? A Ben Nevis closed to the public (well, no, because Scottish access law is much better than ours), freedom to roam on beaches stopped because they change hands? We all have to live together on a very crowded island. We all have to share a bit. After all, Vixen Tor isn't a private garden or a cultivated farm field. It is a massive lump of rock, surrounded by open moorland, in a national park.

I have trespassed on Vixen Tor today. Many will trespass in the future, for the human spirit craves the freedom to go to such wild places. This is a pyrrhic victory for one landowner, for Vixen Tor belongs to us all as our common heritage and we will all continue to claim our right to go there.

ENDS.

Views expressed during interviews concerning the dispute.

"Regarding issues of access, how do you feel about the Vixen Tor issue?" (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

"People always went there for thirty, forty, fifty years until the current owners closed it off three years ago. We'll get it back, we'll get it back! There's a lot of feeling against her and her son, it's not as though they've moved down from London or the southeast or miles away, they were both born and bred very near to Vixen Tor. She grew up in the locality and would know as well if not better than anybody that the public always went in there, until she bought it and closed it off three years ago. If she thought that she was going to be able to close it off and the public would take it without a fight then she must be living in cloud cuckoo land. I think what gets Vixen Tor the publicity that it gets, I think is two things. One is the fact that the public went there donkeys years until the current owners stopped it and, secondly the fact that the current owner has stopped people going there. There's smaller tors on the moor where there is strictly no public access, but I can't think that there's anywhere the owners have gone to the extremes that the Vixen Tor owner's have gone to keep the public out and there's certainly no tors as significant or prominent as Vixen Tor where public access is denied. There's a few little ones that you can't get too fussed about, but if wondered in there and the farmers saw you, he'd probably say; 'oh that's ok anytime'. They say they bought the tor and the enclosure for the son to have a farm unit of his own, well that's ok but the public are quite able to share it with them as they did in the past". (Ryan, Dartmoor Rambler and Devon Area Access Officer, 2006).

“Do you think that goes against what Dartmoor is about, the closing of the access?” (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

“Well yes, it seems a bit mean spirited doesn’t it, all she wants to do is get some money for it really. The climbers are probably more up set than we are in a way because we can still look at it and say that’s a nice tor”. (Ian, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006)

“What have been your feelings, if any, towards the Vixen Tor debate?” (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

“Vixen Tor did not mean anything to me before the problems. I might have gone for shelter and had lunch there and the rest of it, but it certainly wasn’t exceptional in anyway, shape or form. But, I strongly believe that people should not be allowed to own bits of the moor and refuse access, I have been to some of the public enquires and I’ve see the woman (owner) in action, and now I feel much more strongly that we should and need to fight. She’s just dug her heels in and the things she’s done and she’s just so single minded about the whole thing. I don’t think her son gives two hoots about the whole thing, well that was my impression, and SHE was the one digging her heels in. I don’t understand it, I really don’t understand her! It’s been the climbers really who have been initiating all the action. I think from a climber’s point of view it’s a lot more significant than from a walker’s point of view. I mean it’s a really beautiful bit of granite rock to climb, and they’re the ones who organised the January 1st trespass. So I think as a walker it doesn’t have any special appeal or interest in me, except that now she’s denied access I’ll go out to try and get it back. I don’t see how you can do that. It’s become more and more bizarre, like she’s now saying that she would allow access for so many thousand a year. No way should the Park give in, I feel so adamant about that. It feels ugly now, the barbed wire and ‘keep out’ signs, I mean it’s all so ugly what she’s done to it (Abbie, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

“How do you fell about the Vixen Tor situation?” (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

“A woman who’s trying to grab a lot of money. I think she is being either influenced or she’s come to this idea that she’s not going to be responsible for anyone hurting

themselves on Vixen Tor. I've climbed Vixen Tor in the past, there's a lot of other people who climbed Vixen Tor, we used to cut through coming over from Pew Tor and down to Merrivale, we always used to cut through Vixen Tor! People used to climb up there and sit around to have lunch there and things like that, which was great, marvellous. I've never heard or seen anybody putting in for insurance because they've hurt their leg or knocked their arm, I think she's after the money!" (Keith Meredith, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

"Do you feel quite sad and that's it's been taken away from you and all those memories that were associated with it?" (Peter Klemen, Interviewer, 2006).

"Yeah, oh yes! I think Dartmoor belongs to the people! Dartmoor is an open space and should be open for everybody! There's an awful lot of landowners on Dartmoor who restrict walkers which I think is wrong, there's a lot more influential or rich people shall I say who have bought land and are trying to keep it too themselves (Geoff, Dartmoor Rambler, 2006).

Military Presence.

The military have trained on Dartmoor for two hundred years and currently the Ministry of Defence (MOD) and Armed Forces train on 12,006 hectares of land, this is about 12.5% of the total National Park area and about 25% of Dartmoor's open country. Live fire training occurs on the northern areas of Dartmoor, during which the area is closed off for safety reasons.

The presence of the military is possibly one of the most contentious issues that has spanned the length of time Dartmoor has been a National Park. Many argue that the simple fact the military are allowed to train on Dartmoor goes against the role of the National Park. Live firing prevents access to central parts of Dartmoor and can disturb wildlife and damage archaeological remains, although there has been a reduction in this as high explosive shells are no longer used. Also the look out-posts, flagpoles, warning signs and roads that penetrate into the centre of the moor are all seen as 'eyesores'. "we want to see an end to all live firing, even with blanks, and the removal of the ugly paraphernalia with which the MoD has spoilt the national park. Dartmoor is after all a national park. That should mean something." (MVADA Press release 2006).

"It's the live firing, it's contrary to the purposes of the National Park. The purposes of the National Park are for quite recreation and enjoyment; you can't have quite enjoyment and recreation when they're playing soldiers up there! I'm certainly opposed to live firing, and some of the dry training they do with non-lethal explosives; using blank bullets, that can be disturbing sometimes. Whether we'll ever turf the army off the moor remains to be seen, but it's sort of warming up to the 'Battle' because their license to use the greater part of the moor for training is up for renewal in 2012, that's with the Duchy of Cornwall..... the beauty of Dartmoor is the freedom to be able to walk on the open moor, the moorland area, largely without any restriction, there is restriction and the other restriction is the military, and they shouldn't be there! There are three relatively large firing ranges on Dartmoor where there's live firing taking place, and when live firing's taking place the public can't go there! Arguably, live firing should not be taking place in a National Park.". (Ryan, Dartmoor Rambler and Devon Area Access Officer, 2006).

WE WILL DISRUPT LIVE FIRING ON DARTMOOR SAY MILITARY VETERANS

A NEW ACTION GROUP OF DARTMOOR WALKERS HAS BEEN FORMED TO END THE SCANDALOUS ABUSE OF MILITARY LIVE FIRING IN THE DARTMOOR NATIONAL PARK. THE GROUP ALREADY HAS 30 MEMBERS AND EACH MEMBER IS A SERVICES VETERAN.

THE GROUP INTENDS TO TAKE NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION TO DISRUPT LIVE FIRING ON THE DARTMOOR MILITARY RANGES, STARTING IN THE PERIOD FROM 6TH JUNE. MVADA MEMBERS WILL ENTER THE RANGES ON OPEN DAYS AND BIVVY OUT ON THE MOOR IN ADVANCE OF THE RANGE CLOSURE AND/OR ENTER ON ACTUAL FIRING DAYS. WE THEN INTEND TO REPEAT THE ACTION AT REGULAR BUT UNANNOUNCED INTERVALS TO PREVENT LIVE FIRING FROM TAKING PLACE.

WE ARE (OBVIOUSLY) NOT ANTI-MILITARY (OUR COMBINED SERVICE EXPERIENCE INCLUDES ACTIVE SERVICE IN MALAYA, ADEN, FALKLANDS, IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN, BOSNIA, NORTHERN IRELAND AND ATTACHMENT IN BELIZE – SOME OF US HAVE BEEN DECORATED FOR BRAVERY). WE RECOGNISE THAT TROOPS HAVE TO TRAIN BUT GIVEN THE SMALL SIZE OF OUR FORCES, LAND IN NATIONAL PARKS SHOULD BE FREED AND BENEFIT FROM THIS REDUCTION. WE ARE ALL WALKERS OR CLIMBERS OR MOUNTAIN BIKERS OR LETTERBOXERS. WE ARE ASHAMED AT THE WAY THE MOD HAS VANDALISED THE VERY SPECIAL LANDSCAPE OF DARTMOOR. ONE OF OUR NUMBER HAD A RELATIVE WHO WAS KILLED ON THE RANGES WHILE VISITING DARTMOOR SOME YEARS AGO. IT IS CLEAR TO US THAT MILITARY TRAINING AND NATIONAL PARK AIMS ARE INCOMPATIBLE.

WE ARE URGING ALL USERS OF DARTMOOR TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION, ***BUT WE URGE PEOPLE NOT TO PUT THEMSELVES IN DANGER***. GIVE NOTICE TO THE MILITARY THAT YOU INTEND TO WALK THE MOOR ON FIRING DAYS OR MAKE SURE YOU ARE CLEARLY SEEN BY RANGE LOOKOUTS. DO NOT GIVE OUT YOUR NAMES – AS WE ARE NOT – TO PREVENT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE FROM SERVING INJUNCTIONS TO STOP THIS PEACEFUL ACTION. WE ARE NOT ACTIVELY SEEKING MEMBERS BUT INTEND TO CONTINUE UNTIL LIVE FIRING IS MOVED TO SAFE AND CLOSED AREAS.

RORKE

CAMPAIGNS DIRECTOR

MVADA PRESS RELEASE

MILITARY VETERANS AGAINST DARTMOOR ABUSE (MVADA)

INFORMATION SHEET ONE – FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

WHAT IS MVADA? We are a group (currently 39) of former servicemen – sadly, no women at the moment - who are opposed to the military abuse of the Dartmoor National Park. We are all users of Dartmoor, as cyclists, letterboxers, climbers and walkers. We believe that the scandal of military live firing in the national park cannot be ended by existing pressure groups. That is why we are taking direct action to highlight the damage to Dartmoor.

BUT THE MILITARY NEED TO TRAIN? Yes, of course they do. We all did. But the MoD is now land-hungry for the sake of being land-hungry. They have bags of land. If they were thrown off Dartmoor tomorrow it would make no difference, except to one or two officers who like living down here.

ISN'T DARTMOOR GOOD FOR TRAINING? No more than anywhere else. Besides, Dartmoor is a national park with public access. The military and civilians shouldn't mix. One of our older members had a relative who was killed some years ago on Dartmoor. Other civilians, even children have been killed and injured. The place for live firing is on permanently closed ranges.

WHAT IS THE BACKGROUND OF MVADA MEMBERS? Our three oldest members served in places like Aden and Malaya. They are not active, but help with driving and support. Among our active members we have between us seen action in the Falklands, Afghanistan, the former Yugoslavia, 1st Iraq war, and considerably in Northern Ireland, among other places. We come from a variety of regiments etc., including the Paras, Royal Marines, several county regiments, and one or two we don't want to mention. Our most recent member left the services just a few months ago.

WHY DON'T YOU SUPPORT EXISTING GROUPS? We do. A number of us are members of other groups. We just don't believe they can win using existing tactics. The odds are stacked against them, because there is a conspiracy to keep the army on Dartmoor.

DISRUPTING LIVE FIRING IS DANGEROUS? It is, but we have the background that helps us to do it. We would like others to join us, but we urge that nobody puts themselves in danger. If others want to protest in this way, give notice to the army and have an organised demo, or make sure that you are clearly seen by range lookouts. We do not seek confrontation, just an end to live firing.

DO YOU OPPOSE ALL MILITARY USE OF DARTMOOR? Of course not. There are activities, such as expeditions, navex, casualty evacuation, and survival exercises for which Dartmoor is ideal. But we want to see an end to all live firing, even with blanks, and the removal of the ugly paraphernalia with which the MoD has spoilt the national park. Dartmoor is after all a national park. That should mean something.

WAS YOUR RECENT PROTEST A SUCCESS? We think it was. Our people were on the moor from last Sunday to Wednesday PM. We used just one of the tactics we intend to deploy – staying concealed in hidden observation posts, a tactic we often used in Northern Ireland. We believe our presence severely restricted the areas of range used. We have other tactics in mind too. As live firing ends soon for a couple of months we shall resume operations in September. But we shall be pursuing secondary actions during the summer months.

WILL YOU WIN THIS CAMPAIGN? Yes, with the support of others. We look to other groups to demand a public inquiry into the military use of Dartmoor and a national audit of all military land use in Britain.

Rorke (campaigns officer) and Barry (public relations).

Appendix E

How people were involved with Dartmoor

The following list outlines those who were interviewed and how they are involved with Dartmoor. All names have been changed.

Ian – Dartmoor Rambler

Abbie – Dartmoor Rambler

Becky – Dartmoor Rambler

Phil – Dartmoor Rambler

Sarah – Dartmoor Rambler

Ryan – Dartmoor Rambler and Devon Access Officer

James – Walker and member of the Dartmoor Rescue Team

Jeremy – Retired Farmer

Richard – Farmer

Bill – Farmer

Simon – Park employee

Owen – Park employee

Matt – Photographer

Sally – Textile Artist

Jo – Dartmoor Poet.

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